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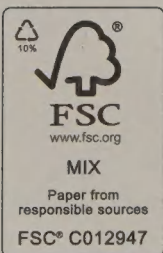
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Reading the Past on the Mountainsides of Colombia: Mid-Nineteenth-Century Patriotic Geology, Archaeology, and Historiography

Nancy P. Appelbaum

In 1850, members of a geographic expedition known as the Chorographic Commission traveled along a narrow trail near the Colombian town of Zipaquirá, not far from the city of Bogotá, and gazed out at the Andean cordilleras. According to the memoir of one of the commission's founding members, Manuel Ancizar, the shape and composition of the mountains "testified" to the "tremendous uprisings and collapses that in not such remote times transformed this territory."¹ His assumptions regarding the cataclysmic and recent natural history of the Andes were confirmed, he said, by traditions of the great Muisca civilization that had once lived there, as well as by the terrain itself. "The history of these sublime cordilleras," he asserted, was "written in its gigantic peaks, in grandiose characters."²

Soon after, the commission apparently paused at the *peñon* of Tausa, a rocky outcropping originally formed, according to Ancizar, by the violent uplift of the cordillera from the earth's fiery depths. The broken landscape triggered the "memory" of a bloody episode in 1541, when Muisca men, women, and children

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1. Manuel Ancizar, *Peregrinación de Alpha* (Bogotá: Biblioteca Banco Popular, 1984), 1:29.

2. *Ibid.*, 1:31. Most nineteenth-century writers referred to the pre-Columbian inhabitants of what are now Boyacá and Cundinamarca in Colombia's Eastern Cordillera as Chibchas; occasionally they were called Muisca or Moscas. Current scholars refer to them as the Muisca, a subset of the larger Chibcha linguistic category. Both labels are used in this article.

had reportedly made a courageous stand there against Spanish conquerors. The Indians were ultimately massacred in defense of "their fatherland [*patria*] and homes and . . . sacred liberty."³ Ancízar could almost hear the battle: "I seemed to hear the clamor of the combatants. . . . barren loneliness was all that was left. . . . where once had echoed the songs of innocent Indian women and the laughter of their sacrificed children."⁴

In just a few paragraphs of his travel memoir, Ancízar had moved seamlessly between geological, prehistorical, and historical pasts. A violent narrative that interwove geological forces and imperial conquest was "written" in this Andean landscape. Ancízar thus linked the cataclysmic origin of the Andean cordilleras with the violent birth of his patria, the Republic of New Granada (as Colombia was then known). Tausa was one of the first stops on the decade-long expedition, headed by the Italian-born cartographer and military officer Agustín Codazzi. The peñon was one of many sites at which the Chorographic Commission linked its own epoch with bygone eras, thus endowing the fragile new republic with a coherent past as well as a cohesive territory.

Scholars have examined the ways that nineteenth-century intellectuals fashioned narratives about their nations' pasts to justify their own political ideologies and make their struggling young republics seem important and even preordained.⁵ Elite Latin Americans highlighted dramatic episodes from the conquest and the independence wars and wove them into national origin myths.

3. Ibid., 1:32.

4. Ibid.

5. On Spanish America, see, for example, D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991); Christina Bueno, "Forjando Patrimonio: The Making of Archaeological Patrimony in Porfirian Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (2010): 215–45; Germán Colmenares, *Las convenciones contra la cultura: Ensayos sobre la historiografía hispanoamericana del siglo XIX* (Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editores, 1987); Raymond B. Craib, *Cartographic Mexico: A History of State Fixations and Fugitive Landscapes* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2004), esp. 19–54; Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2007); Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh, PA: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 2006); Mark Thurner and Andrés Guerrero, eds., *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2003). For elsewhere, see, among other texts, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991); Homi K. Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990); Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1993); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983).

Nineteenth-century partisan politics and policy goals, moreover, shaped historical interpretation and debate. Liberals provided an anticolonial critique, while Conservatives often viewed Spain's influence favorably. In New Granada, this divergence became more marked over the course of the century.⁶

The Chorographic Commission has not been fully integrated into the recent scholarship on nineteenth-century historiography and archaeology. One of the most extensive and ambitious cartographic projects in nineteenth-century Latin America, this state-sponsored expedition was charged with providing information about the territory and its inhabitants and resources in order to facilitate governance, immigration, and economic advancement. The commission's encyclopedic approach included ethnography, botany, archaeology, history, and geology, as well as cartography. The Chorographic Commission is relatively little known outside of Colombia, but Colombian scholars view it as foundational for their country's identity. Recent scholarship on the commission has provided new insights, but scholars have yet to fully analyze the ways in which the commission reconstructed the nation's pasts.⁷

Geology is also largely missing from the recent literature on Latin American patriotic histories, with some notable exceptions.⁸ One such exception is Jorge

6. Alexander Betancourt Mendieta, *Historia y nación: Tentativas de la escritura de la historia en Colombia* (Medellín, Colombia: La Carreta Editores, 2007), esp. 27–44; Carl Henrik Langebaek Rueda, *Los herederos del pasado: Indígenas y pensamiento criollo en Colombia y Venezuela*, vol. 1 (Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, 2009); Sergio Mejía, *La revolución en letras: La historia de la revolución de Colombia de José Manuel Restrepo (1781–1863)* (Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes / Universidad EAFIT, 2007); Sergio Mejía, *El pasado como refugio y esperanza: La "Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada" de José Manuel Groot* (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 2009).

7. The most thorough studies of the Chorographic Commission include Efraín Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía: Agustín Codazzi y la Comisión Corográfica de la Nueva Granada* (Bogotá: Banco de la República / El Ancora Editores, 1998); and Olga Restrepo Forero's work, starting with her thesis "La Comisión Corográfica: Avatares en la configuración del saber" (bachelor's thesis, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá, 1983). For an analysis and definitive new catalogue of the commission's illustrations, see Carla Juanita Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables en las láminas de la Comisión Corográfica (1850–1859)" (master's thesis, Universidad de los Andes, 2009). See also the six volumes of primary sources and commentaries edited by Camilo A. Domínguez Ossa et al., *Obras completas de la Comisión Corográfica: Geografía física y política de la Confederación Granadina*, 6 vols. (Bogotá: COAMA-Unión Europea, 1996–2005).

8. On nineteenth-century Colombian geological writing, see Langebaek, *Los herederos del pasado*, 227–34. On the popularity of geology in the United States and Great Britain, see Rebecca Bedell, *The Anatomy of Nature: Geology and American Landscape Painting, 1825–1875* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2001), esp. 3–13; Lynn Barber, *The Heyday of Natural History, 1820–1870* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1980).

Cañizares-Esguerra's brief and provocative discussion of how late nineteenth-century Mexican landscape painters and intellectuals drew on catastrophic geological theories to integrate "purportedly radically different historical stages into a single evolutionary narrative of progress."⁹ His observation leads us to a larger question: What role did geology play, if any, in nineteenth-century patriotic narratives? Did Latin American intellectuals project their national origins even further into the past than we have generally acknowledged? In midcentury New Granada, they did, endowing their tenuous young nation with a grandiose and cataclysmic natural history as well as a great precursor indigenous civilization and a patriotic legacy of resistance to Spanish conquest and despotism.

Yet even as these intellectuals projected their national origins back in time, they could not quite make the leap to deep geological time, to the millions of years that preceded human habitation. A striking and puzzling feature of the Chorographic Commission's narratives about New Granada's past is their conflation of disparate time frames. The commission's writers emphasized the newness of processes that we now think of as very old, believing that major geologic transformations had been historically recorded. They also moved back and forth between pre-Hispanic, conquest, and independence eras.

Why did these nineteenth-century intellectuals feel compelled to see geologic time as overlapping with recent history? Why did they prefer catastrophic explanations for geological change? Furthermore, how were their depictions of both prehistory and history related to midcentury politics? And what do such narratives about the past tell us about early republican aspirations for New Granada's future?

In an effort to address these questions, I examine in the following pages how the Chorographic Commission and other mid-nineteenth-century intellectuals in New Granada constructed a patriotic past. The article opens in the tumultuous political context of the late 1840s and early 1850s, the moment when the Chorographic Commission was created and individuals such as Joaquín Acosta published pioneering works on national history and prehistory. The article traces how both the commission and Acosta portrayed the geologic origins of the Colombian Andes and how they linked geology and archaeology. The discussion of geology and archaeology is followed by an examination of conquest and independence narratives and the inscription of these narratives in particular geographical sites deemed worthy of commemoration by the commission. The penultimate section of the article considers subsequent political

9. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation: Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2006), 160–61, 163.

controversies regarding the interpretation of the past. The conclusion revisits the questions posed above and considers some unresolved tensions in the commission's narratives, which were about not only the past but also the elite's aspirations for a future of national unity and greatness.

Scientific Research in a Tumultuous Era

The Chorographic Commission was not a partisan institution, but it was the product of a partisan era. Conceived during the modernizing first presidential administration of then-Conservative strongman Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera (1845–1849), the Chorographic Commission was formally launched under the auspices of the “revolutionary” Liberal government of José Hilario López (1849–1853). The López administration unleashed a series of radical Liberal reforms aimed at ridding the nation of what it characterized as colonial legacies, such as slavery, corporate indigenous communities, clerical privileges, centralized government, restricted franchise, and trade restrictions. Controversies over such reforms contributed to provoking the civil wars of 1851 and 1854.¹⁰

Codazzi, a veteran of the Napoleonic and independence wars who had recently fled his adopted country of Venezuela for political reasons, was enlisted to lead the Chorographic Commission.¹¹ Codazzi had been a prominent Venezuelan Conservative. Some of his closest allies and friends in New Granada, however, were Liberals. The commission's first secretary was Manuel Ancizar, a young radical Liberal intellectual and politician.¹² Other creoles and foreigners of both parties would participate in the commission over the next decade as it crisscrossed the national territory amassing statistics, drawing maps, writing descriptions, and illustrating places, people, and industries.¹³ At times the commission's members had to interrupt their work to take part in national politics

10. For an overview of this period in Colombian history, see Frank Safford and Marco Palacios, *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002), 80–265.

11. For biographies of Codazzi, see Giorgio Antei, *Mal de América: Las obras y los días de Agustín Codazzi, 1793–1859* (Bogotá: Museo Nacional de Colombia, 1993); Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*; H. A. Schumacher, *Biografía del General Agustín Codazzi*, trans. Francisco Manrique (San Fernando de Apure, Venezuela: Tipografía Augusta, 1916).

12. Gilberto Loaiza Cano, *Manuel Ancizar y su época (1811–1882): Biografía de un político hispanoamericano del siglo XIX* (Medellín, Colombia: Editorial Universidad de Antioquia / Fondo Editorial Universidad EAFIT, 2004).

13. Among the creoles was Santiago Pérez, who briefly replaced Ancizar and went on to become a Liberal president of Colombia (1874–1876). The commission's third illustrator and secretary from 1853 to 1859, Manuel María Paz, was a Conservative military officer.

and civil wars. For example, Codazzi served as one of the military leaders of a coalition of Liberals and Conservatives in the 1854 war against another faction of Liberals; by then, Ancízar had left the commission to take on diplomatic posts abroad.

The commission did not go smoothly. It was not easy to survey a mountainous interior with no real roads, and it was even harder to explore the lowland frontiers, where the state had little effective presence. The commission's technology was primitive even by the standards of the day, and its small group of commissioners and workers suffered from attrition, disease, and death on the trail. It went over budget and missed deadlines as the projected six-year expedition stretched into ten. Maps had to be redrawn when the republic became a confederation of states in 1858. Nonetheless, the commission survived civil wars, a transition from a radical Liberal presidential administration to a Conservative administration in the mid-1850s, and several constitutional reforms.

While the commission's stated purpose was utilitarian, serving economic growth and governance, it also had scientific goals. Codazzi had previously led a similar, though less extensive, Chorographic Commission in Venezuela in the 1830s, the results of which had been well received in European scientific circles. As a result, Codazzi had been accepted into leading geographic and ethnographic societies in both Europe and North America. Codazzi now planned to publish the results of his New Granada expedition in Paris in deluxe illustrated volumes and maps and present them to the international scientific community.¹⁴ He and his fellow commissioners characterized themselves as scientific observers. Their erudition, aesthetic sensibilities, and firsthand observations, they argued, gave them a unique capacity to see and decipher the geological, archaeological, and textual record, to participate in transatlantic scientific discussions, and to reconstruct the nation's past.

Geology

Each December, at the beginning of the driest season, the Chorographic Commission left Bogotá to explore and map some part of the national territory. Commissioners traveled over mountain passes on beasts, on foot, and even on the backs of human carriers, all the while scanning the cordilleras for evidence of their violent origins. They viewed the land itself as an archive in which the

14. Agustín Codazzi, "Comision corográfica: Exposición del plan de la obra de la geografía jeneral de la República i particular de los Estados," *Gaceta Oficial* (Bogotá), 11 Dec. 1857, pp. 609–11. (Hereafter this newspaper will be referred to as *GO*.)

origins of the nation and its cordilleras were “written” (*escrito*) by both natural forces and human hands for a “studious traveler” (*viajero estudioso*) to read.

Codazzi and the government originally planned to include a geologist on the expedition, preferably Joaquín Acosta. An independence veteran, Acosta had studied in Europe, where he attended lectures by eminent scholars such as the geologist Georges Cuvier, contributed his own research on New Granada to scientific societies, and collaborated with renowned naturalists and geologists such as Jean-Baptiste Élie de Beaumont, Jean-Baptiste Boussingault, and Alexander von Humboldt.¹⁵ Back in Bogotá in 1850, Acosta gave a series of well-attended public lectures on geology in which he invited his compatriots to join him in “learning to read the great book of nature, open every day before us.”¹⁶ Acosta, however, would not agree to travel far from Bogotá, and he died in 1852.¹⁷ So Codazzi and Ancizar took it upon themselves to fill the role of geologist for the commission.

Much of the concern with geology, of course, was about finding mineral wealth. The Chorographic Commission’s mandate included documenting New Granada’s mines and untapped subsoil resources. But the commission’s interest transcended the utilitarian. In addition to describing mines and mineral deposits, the commission also wrote about the origins of the land itself. Acosta, Ancizar, and Codazzi repeatedly demonstrated their familiarity with modern geological discourse and thus their ability to read what was written in the Andean mountains. By midcentury, geological practitioners in Europe and the Americas increasingly viewed strata of rocks as archives that, in their shape and direction as well as their fossils, preserved a record of the origins of the earth and its mountain ranges.¹⁸ Contorted layers of rock provided evidence of violent ori-

15. Soledad Acosta de Samper, *Biografía del general Joaquín Acosta, prócer de la independencia, historiador, geógrafo, hombre científico y filántropo* (Bogotá: Librería Colombiana, Camacho Roldán y Tamayo, 1901), esp. 107–318, 393–475.

16. Joaquín Acosta, *Lecciones de geología por el coronel Joaquín Acosta* (Bogotá: Imprenta del Neo-Granadino por León Echeverría, 1850), 7. Unfortunately, only the first lecture appears to have survived in print.

17. GO, 21 Apr. 1850, p. 179.

18. On geological “archives” and other historical metaphors in geology, see Martin J. S. Rudwick, *Bursting the Limits of Time: The Reconstruction of Geobistory in the Age of Revolution* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2005); Gabriel Gohau, *A History of Geology*, rev. and trans. Albert V. Carozzi and Marguerite Carozzi (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1991), 56, 66, 148–49; Mott T. Greene, *Geology in the Nineteenth Century: Changing Views of a Changing World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1982); Simon Lamb, *Devil in the Mountain: A Search for the Origin of the Andes* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2004), esp. 13–37.

gins. For example, near Zipaquirá, Ancízar and Codazzi saw a “confusing mix of rocks stratified in almost vertical layers,” which they considered to be clear evidence of “a rapid and colossal uprising.”¹⁹

New Granada’s mountains were so huge and dramatic, moreover, that they threw European scientific assumptions, based on the Old World’s landscape, into question:

the uprisings of the Old World are small and common phenomena, in comparison to the cataclysms of which the Andean region has been the theater . . . where the studious traveler lets fall from his hands the books written by European geologists, convinced that these zones refute the ordered classifications . . . that the overseas savants have assumed to be universally applicable.²⁰

Thus the “studious traveler” in the Andes was uniquely positioned to contribute to international discussions on the origins of mountains. Regardless of whether one was American-born, like Acosta or Ancízar, or a European-born adoptive son of the new republic, like Codazzi, firsthand observation provided privileged access to the geologic record.²¹ Echoing eighteenth-century debates about the relative greatness of the New and Old Worlds, the commission affirmed that the Andes were so grand and important that studying them would overturn European theories based on observations of the “small” phenomena of the Old World.²²

During the nineteenth century, scientists on both sides of the Atlantic debated how best to read the earth’s archives. Acosta and the Chorographic

19. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 1:30.

20. *Ibid.*, 1:31.

21. See also Acosta, *Lecciones de jeología*, 7–8. The commission’s members assumed such a scientific traveler to be “he,” though given the activities of European scientists such as Maria Graham (see footnote 22 below in this essay), there is no reason to assume that Latin American women were not also studying natural history.

22. On the earlier debates, see, among other works, Antonello Gerbi, *The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic, 1750–1900*, trans. Jeremy Moyle (Pittsburgh, PA: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1973); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2001). In the nineteenth century, the Andes became a focus of the dispute between uniformitarianists and catastrophists. The observation of earthquakes in Chile by Maria Graham in 1822 and by Robert Fitzroy and Charles Darwin in 1835 ultimately supported the uniformitarian view. See Martin J. S. Rudwick, *Worlds before Adam: The Reconstruction of Geohistory in the Age of Reform* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2008), 484–98.

Commission agreed with those geologists who believed that mountain ranges had uplifted from the earth's crust as a result of volcanic eruptions. Nineteenth-century geologists also disputed whether the earth's topographic features had been transformed by continual, gradual changes, a position sometimes called uniformitarianism, or by sudden cataclysms, a stance often called catastrophism.²³ Acosta, Codazzi, and Ancizar embraced the latter theory, which was advocated most famously by Cuvier.

Codazzi and Ancizar largely sidestepped another controversy over how to reconcile the geological record of a deep past with scriptural accounts of a young earth. By midcentury, many leading geologists had accepted the controversial conclusions that geological time was far longer than anything contemplated in the Bible and that the geological record did not support biblical accounts.²⁴ Notably lacking in Ancizar's and Codazzi's accounts were scriptural references. The Andes's cataclysmic uplift was so recent, they implied, that debates over Genesis were irrelevant: "we should not seek the origin of their population in Biblical times. . . . all is new here."²⁵

All the mid-nineteenth-century intellectuals working in New Granada were influenced by Humboldt, who had famously explored Spanish America at the turn of the nineteenth century and had published over 30 scientific volumes (for which he cited and consulted creoles such as Acosta).²⁶ Humboldt extolled the grandiosity and sublime beauty of the Andes, and he too was a believer in catastrophic geological change. The midcentury geographers followed him in arguing that the small lakes dotting the highlands of the Eastern Cordillera were remnants of a much more extensive system of larger lakes.²⁷ Such lakes accounted for the existence of fertile highland basins like the Savannah of Bogotá. Where uniformitarianists saw gradual processes of erosion, Codazzi and Ancizar saw evidence of recent and sudden cataclysmic changes.²⁸ In their

23. On the nuances and complexities of the debates among uniformitarianists and catastrophists, see Gohau, *History of Geology*, esp. 139–49; Greene, *Geology in the Nineteenth Century*, esp. 73–143; Anthony Hallam, *Great Geological Controversies*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), 30–64; Rudwick, *Worlds before Adam*, esp. 356–566.

24. Hallam, *Great Geological Controversies*, 30–64; Rudwick, *Worlds before Adam*.

25. Ancizar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:245.

26. Acosta de Samper, *Biografía del general Joaquín Acosta*, 107–318, 393–475.

27. Alexander von Humboldt, *Alejandro de Humboldt en Colombia: Extractos de sus obras compilados, ordenados y prologados, con ocasión del centenario de su muerte, en 1859*, ed. Enrique Pérez Arbeláez, 2nd ed. (Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Cultura, 1982), 117–19, 168, 175–88. Humboldt kept up with the research being done in New Granada; on at least one occasion he cited Acosta's geographical measurements. See *ibid.*, 181.

28. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la provincia de Vélez," *GO*, 13 Sept. 1852, p. 642 and 28 Sept. 1852, p. 670; Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de

telling, the lakes had irrupted through a series of openings, rapidly draining their beds and washing away everything below. The explorers dated the floods to a mere four or five centuries earlier.²⁹

These deluges were described in dramatic terms emphasizing their violent and catastrophic nature. The geologic record of these events, moreover, was inscribed in the landscape for scientific travelers to see: "the history of the draining of this lake and the catastrophes that it must have caused are, so to speak, written in the neighboring peaks with unmistakable letters."³⁰ Given that the floods were ostensibly so recent, Codazzi also believed that human communities had witnessed and recorded them.³¹

Thus the history of the cordilleras and their civilizations were written not only in layers of rock but also on the surfaces of rocks themselves by human hands, waiting to be deciphered by educated travelers. The Chorographic Commission produced six watercolor illustrations of boulders or cliffs adorned with pre-Columbian painted and carved images. These illustrations formed part of an official album of 151 watercolors painted by several different artists for the commission and preserved in Colombia's National Library. The fact that there are so many of these illustrations of pre-Columbian art (relative to some other themes represented in the album), all accompanied by detailed captions, reflects the commissioners' keen interest in the topic. Five of these six illustrations depict sites in the Eastern Cordillera, the highland area previously populated by the Muisca indigenous civilization. It is also the region in which the nation's capital is located. Two of these illustrations were by Carmelo Fernández and were based on preliminary sketches by Manuel Ancizar himself.³² Ancizar and Codazzi believed that the four sites in the Eastern Cordillera were pre-Columbian depictions of floods. For example, Ancizar described one of them, the Painted Rock of Saboyá, as the "work of Chibcha witnesses of the terrible but beneficial revolution" caused by flooding from a highland lake.³³

la provincia de Pamplona," *GO*, 27 Oct. 1853, p. 847; Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la provincia de Tunja," *GO*, 22 Dec. 1853, p. 968; Ancizar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:34-40.

29. Agustín Codazzi, unpublished manuscript, quoted in Ancizar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:40; Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la provincia de Tunja," *GO*, 24 Dec. 1853, p. 969.

30. Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la provincia de Pamplona," 847; Codazzi's unpublished manuscript, quoted in Ancizar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:36.

31. Ancizar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:39.

32. The most thorough analysis of these images is that of Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales," esp. 92-97, 171, 230-31, 239, 248, 264. Fernández was the commission's first official illustrator.

33. Ancizar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 1:84.



Figure 1. Carmelo Fernández, *Piedra grabada de Gámesa - Provincia de Tundama*, ca. 1850. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá.

Codazzi and Ancízar wrote in most detail about the petroglyphs on a boulder (fig. 1) that they viewed at the confluence of the Gámeza and Sogamoso Rivers in the Province of Tundama, just below where one of the natural dams had ostensibly given way.³⁴ The Gámeza boulder lay among many other scattered boulders that would have been brought down from on high. According to the caption accompanying the watercolor, the illustrated face of the boulder was turned toward the point of the flood. Like other such images in the album, it includes some men (and in this case, a dog). The human figures, who provide a sense of scale, could be the commissioners, who adopted the rural people's *ruanas* (wool ponchos) on the trail. The men gaze curiously at the mysterious images on the boulder; one reclines, as if taking his time to decipher the symbols.

Codazzi said of this boulder: "The rock of Gámeza is a mute monument for indigenous history, but expressive for the observer and eloquent for the geolo-

34. Codazzi, unpublished manuscript, quoted in Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:39; Agustín Codazzi, "Antigüedades indígenas: Ruinas de San Agustín, descritas i explicadas por Agustín Codazzi," in Domínguez Ossa et al., *Obras completas*, 2:269.

gist.”³⁵ Thus he highlighted his own ability to read it while casting local Indians as ignorant of their own history. The local Indians or mestizos who led the travelers to this rock were supposedly mystified by its carvings. But such rocks recounted history eloquently to the learned. By referring to this recorded past as “history” rather than glossing it as prehistory, Codazzi was projecting national history back into ancient pasts, recorded by human beings who were able to “write” in a symbolic language. By describing the rock’s reader as a “geologist,” moreover, he conflated history, archaeology, and geology.

To interpret the symbolic imagery, Codazzi drew on José Domingo Duquesne de la Madrid’s 1795 treatise “Disertación sobre el calendario de los Muisca,” which was about a multifaceted carved stone believed to be a pre-Hispanic calendar. Humboldt had cited this document in his description of both pre-Columbian “monuments” and Mexica and Inca archaeological sites.³⁶ For the creole elite, the stone was evidence that the Muisca constituted a great civilization that practiced writing and astronomy and maintained a complex calendar. Acosta considered Duquesne’s treatise so important that he appended it to his own book on the history of the conquest of New Granada.³⁷

Duquesne, a priest, had obtained the artifact in his indigenous parish. From it he extrapolated Muisca numerical and writing systems, astronomy, and a sophisticated calendar. One of the symbols that appeared on this artifact was believed to be a frog that connoted water.³⁸ Codazzi interpreted the stylized frogs on the Gámeza boulder as representing the catastrophic flood that drained the lake.³⁹

35. Quoted in Ancizar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:39. On Mexican artifacts as “mute witnesses of the past,” see Bueno, “*Forjando Patrimonio*,” 238; on another nineteenth-century use of the same kind of language, see Craib, *Cartographic Mexico*, 45.

36. Alexander von Humboldt, *Researches, Concerning the Institutions and Monuments of the Ancient Inhabitants of America, with Descriptions and Views of Some of the Most Striking Scenes in the Cordilleras!*, trans. Helen Maria Williams, vol. 2 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, J. Murray, and H. Colburn, 1814); Humboldt, *Alejandro de Humboldt en Colombia*, 199–220. See also Clara Isabel Botero, *El redescubrimiento del pasado prehispánico de Colombia: Viajeros, arqueólogos y coleccionistas, 1820–1945* (Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia / Universidad de los Andes, 2006), 41–45.

37. Joaquín Acosta, *Compendio histórico del descubrimiento y colonización de la Nueva Granada en el siglo décimo sexto* (Paris: Imprinta de Beau, 1848), 404–18.

38. Manuel Arturo Izquierdo Peña, “The Muisca Calendar: An Approximation to the Timekeeping System of the Ancient Native People of the Northeastern Andes of Colombia” (PhD diss., Université de Montreal, 2008), 101.

39. Codazzi, “Antigüedades indígenas,” 269, and Codazzi’s unpublished manuscript, quoted in Ancizar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:39.

Among the sources Duquesne had reportedly used for elaborating his interpretation were his own indigenous parishioners, descendants of the Muisca.⁴⁰ Colombian scholars, as I will discuss below, later dismissed Duquesne's interpretation as erroneous speculation in part for that very reason. Such disagreements on the reliability and usefulness of indigenous sources dated back to the Spanish Enlightenment.⁴¹ The commission itself expressed ambivalent and sometimes contradictory views toward local informants and popular knowledge, as I explore more thoroughly elsewhere.⁴² The commission simultaneously made extensive use of and disparaged local knowledge.

Duquesne would not have been alone among scholars in thinking that indigenous oral traditions, past or present, shed light on pre-Columbian history and geology, especially when considered in tandem with archaeological findings. Codazzi assumed that the history of the highland lakes would also have been recorded in the "Chibcha archives and traditions, burned . . . by the Castilian conquerors."⁴³ And Humboldt and Acosta both mentioned the cataclysmic Muisca origin story as recorded by Spanish chroniclers during the conquest era, whereby the founding ancestor-deity and "lawgiver" Bochica had created the famous Tequendama waterfall in order to drain the lake that covered the Savannah of Bogotá.⁴⁴ By citing the Muisca origin stories as evidence for their claims, scholars both reinforced their interpretation of the geological record and affirmed the greatness of the Muisca intellectual heritage: the Muisca had once possessed historical archives of their own, destroyed by the conquest. Furthermore, the Bochica story, the lost archives, and the surviving rock art all provided testimony of geological change. Thus geologic, mythic, and human times were embedded on the nation's landscape and merged into one recent past that just preceded and presaged the conquest and modernity.

Pre-Hispanic Civilizations

The pictorial boulders and Muisca calendar provided just a few examples of the pre-Hispanic monuments that captured the imagination of nineteenth-century explorers in New Granada. Following a teleological template of human progress

40. Humboldt, *Alejandro de Humboldt en Colombia*, 200.

41. Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History*, esp. 60–129.

42. Nancy P. Appelbaum, "Mapping the Country of Regions: The Chorographic Commission of Nineteenth-Century Colombia" (unpublished manuscript).

43. Codazzi, quoted in Ancizar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:39.

44. Humboldt, *Alejandro de Humboldt en Colombia*, 175–78; Acosta, *Compendio histórico*, 196–97.

that had been established during the Enlightenment, thinkers like Humboldt, Acosta, and Codazzi believed that archaeological artifacts provided evidence of the evolution of human civilizations from primitive to civilized.⁴⁵ They assumed that both archaeological artifacts and contemporary ethnographies of “uncivilized” societies offered indirect information about European prehistory, since all civilizations were assumed to have progressed through the same stages. The progression was cognitive: over time, the primitive mind became civilized.⁴⁶ Even those eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century thinkers who dismissed the reliability of indigenous sources as historical records thought that such sources provided insights into the evolution of the mind.

When Codazzi attempted to date both the rock images and the floods he believed documented therein, he recurred not only to the geological evidence contained in layers of rock but also to the relative sophistication of the artifacts. He assessed the level of civilization of the Muisca and other indigenous groups at the time of conquest, estimating that it would have taken them a few centuries of cultivating the high basins to reach the level of prosperity and development reported by the conquerors.⁴⁷

Codazzi assumed the Muisca's level of civilization to be quite high. He pointed to Duquesne's calendar stone, Spanish chronicles, and more recent archaeological evidence of cities, temples, fortified plazas, and decorations as “signals all of an established material welfare.”⁴⁸ In nineteenth-century New Granada, the Muisca were depicted with pride as the third-highest ancient American civilization after the Inca and Mexica empires. New Granada scholar Ezequiel Uribecochea and other midcentury New World intellectuals considered these ancient American civilizations analogous to the classic civilizations of the Mediterranean.⁴⁹ Scholars' burgeoning interest in pre-Hispanic civilizations

45. On the “belief that the different peoples of the earth were somehow representative of different stages of human development” and the inevitability of progress, see Michael Heffernan, “Historical Geographies of the Future: Three Perspectives from France, 1750–1825,” in *Geography and Enlightenment*, ed. David N. Livingstone and Charles W. J. Withers (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1999), 135.

46. Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History*, esp. 111–29.

47. Codazzi, unpublished manuscript, quoted in Ancizar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:40; Agustín Codazzi, “Jeografía física i política de la provincia de Tunja,” *GO*, 24 Dec. 1853, p. 969.

48. Agustín Codazzi, “Jeografía física i política de la provincia de Tunja,” *GO*, 24 Dec. 1853, p. 969.

49. Ezequiel Uribecochea, *Memoria sobre las antigüedades neo-granadinas* (1854; Bogotá: Biblioteca Banco Popular, 1971), 28–29. See also Botero, *El redescubrimiento del pasado*

was inspired in part by William Prescott's epic accounts of the conquests of the Aztecs and Incas, as well as by recent archaeological discoveries.⁵⁰

Scholarship about the pre-Columbian era, moreover, was starting to form an important part of patriotic intellectual agendas. A foundational historical text originally published by José Manuel Restrepo in 1827 had located the origins of the nation in the independence struggles.⁵¹ According to a recent analysis by Alexander Betancourt, the midcentury historical narratives added the conquest to Restrepo's master narrative as an additional founding moment for the nation.⁵² Information about indigenous civilizations was often included in the same midcentury texts that recounted conquest narratives, a practice exemplified in New Granada by Acosta's *Compendio histórico* and José Antonio de Plaza's *Memorias para la historia de la Nueva Granada*. These historians said they were motivated by a "patriotic desire"⁵³ to instruct youth "in the ancient history of New Granada."⁵⁴

Like the early chronicles they cited, the nineteenth-century scholars made sense of the Muisca by characterizing their society as a kind of feudal system overseen by competing territorial overlords known as the Zipa and Zaque. Some of the writers argued that at the time of the conquest, the Zipa was on the verge of forming a centralized state or empire like that of the Aztecs: "without the arrival of the Spaniards the Zipa of Bogotá probably would have taken over all the territory of the Chibchas."⁵⁵ Acosta located the Muisca civilization in a very

prehispanic, 59. On the reception of Uricoechea's work in New Granada, see "Memoria sobre las antigüedades neo-granadinas por Ezequiel Uricoechea," *El Porvenir* (Bogotá), 2 Oct. 1855, p. 11.

50. Botero, *El redescubrimiento del pasado prehispanic*, 52–65. Acosta claimed that he tried to interest Prescott in writing the history of the conquest of New Granada as an obvious sequel to his books on Peru and Mexico but was rebuffed. Acosta, *Compendio histórico*, ix.

51. José Manuel Restrepo, *Historia de la revolución de la República de Colombia en la América meridional*, 4 vols. (1827; Besançon, France: Imprinta de José Jacquin, 1858). On Restrepo's textual and cartographic depictions of the independence wars, see also Mejía, *La revolución en letras*; Lina del Castillo, "Traveling Maps, Frustrated Creole Desires, and the Reconfiguration of Imperial Designs: The Case of the Gran Colombian Mapping Commission, 1819–1830" (paper presented at the 17th Kenneth Nebenzahl Jr. Lectures in the History of Cartography, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL, 4–6 Nov. 2010).

52. Betancourt, *Historia y nación*, 28–44. On this phenomenon in Spanish America more broadly, see Earle, *Return of the Native*, esp. 100–132.

53. José Antonio de Plaza, *Memorias para la historia de la Nueva Granada desde su descubrimiento hasta el 20 de julio de 1810* (Bogotá: Imprinta del Neo-Granadino, 1850), 9.

54. Acosta, *Compendio histórico*, v.

55. *Ibid.*, 188; repeated in Uricoechea, *Memoria sobre las antigüedades*, 41.

specific and bounded territory in the eastern highlands. He fixed the latitudes of its northern and southern borders and provided precise estimates of its size and population, claiming that the Chibcha territory and population were "as considerable as any of the cultured countries of Europe."⁵⁶ Other scholars would refer to the Chibchas as "the ancient *neogranadinos*"⁵⁷ and "the Chibcha empire."⁵⁸ Thus the scholars essentially constructed this civilization as an incipient precursor state, conveniently centered in what would become the national capital.

In these accounts, the barbarians were the Spanish soldiers, not the Muisca. In his telling of the conquest, Acosta did not question its underlying necessity and divine nature, and he expressed admiration for certain Spanish leaders. Yet he also highlighted Spanish cruelty. He viewed the common Spanish soldiers as crude thugs, while he portrayed the Muisca as highly civilized. Unfortunately, according to Acosta and his contemporaries, the uneducated Spaniards swept away most of the Muisca's pictographs, calendars, writing systems, buildings, and laws, thus obliterating the very attributes that made the Muisca a great civilization.⁵⁹

The conquest, according to Acosta, had passed over the Muisca civilization "like a hurricane," simultaneously obliterating its historical record and reversing centuries of progress.⁶⁰ Thus he equated the conquest with a natural disaster. In the narratives of midcentury intellectuals, this traumatic event interrupted the indigenous peoples' progression toward ever-higher civilization. In other words, the progressive evolution, which all civilizations were assumed to follow, could be interrupted or even reversed by traumatic events. Change occurred not only through evolution but also through cataclysms, including such events as the dramatic uplift of the Andean mountains, the sudden draining of highland lakes, or the Spanish conquest.

Beyond the Muisca's domain, of course, had lived many other indigenous peoples. These societies, usually dwelling at lower and warmer altitudes, were invariably described as occupying lower levels on the continuum between barbarism and civilization.⁶¹ Adjoining the Muisca, according to Acosta, "lived

56. Acosta, *Compendio histórico*, 187. On the map appended to that volume and how it visualized a Chibcha territorial entity, see Appelbaum, "Mapping the Country of Regions."

57. Uricoechea, *Memoria sobre las antigüedades*, 33.

58. Felipe Pérez, *Geografía Jeneral de los Estados Unidos de Colombia escrita de orden del Gobierno por Felipe Pérez* (Paris: Librería de Rosa and Bouret, 1865), 82.

59. Acosta, *Compendio histórico*, 197–98.

60. Ibid.

61. Uricoechea, *Memoria sobre las antigüedades*; Botero, *El redescubrimiento del pasado prehispanico*, 63.

more than fifty thousand Indians, and they seemed the more ferocious and indomitable, the rougher the territory they inhabited.”⁶² It was assumed that levels of barbarism and civilization were due in large part to the physical environment. Inauspicious climates, like cataclysmic changes, could stymie the evolutionary trajectory toward civilization.

The depiction of the Muisca as having achieved the highest level of civilization in pre-Columbian New Granada reinforced the republic’s territorial claims and geographic ordering. The New Granada intellectuals based in Bogotá located their national origins in the Muisca rather than in the other indigenous peoples located in warmer and more “savage” climates further from what would become the national capital. The latter groups were assumed to be less culturally and cognitively developed. By recasting the Muisca as a civilized empire, the New Granada intellectuals reaffirmed Bogotá’s tenuous supremacy over the entire territory.⁶³

Although the Muisca received most of the scholarly attention during this period, Codazzi also studied a mysterious group of statues in the Valley of San Agustín in southern New Granada. He and his assistant Manuel María Paz, who was the commission’s most prolific illustrator, visited the valley in 1857 and produced a map of the site and detailed illustrations of the statues.⁶⁴ Theirs was the most detailed analysis of the San Agustín site to date.

Codazzi classified the San Agustín civilization as occupying an intermediate level on the evolutionary continuum. He asserted that the statues at San Agustín demonstrated a level of civilization high enough to develop a complete theogony, support a priestly class, and create what Codazzi believed to be a dedicated religious sanctuary. In his description of the statues and accompanying illustrations, Codazzi walked the reader/viewer step by step through the valley, a route that he believed had been created by priests to instruct neophytes. He argued that the statues’ animalistic features demonstrated that the statues were not depictions of the human form but were rather intended as symbols.⁶⁵

62. Acosta, *Compendio histórico*, 298.

63. Anthropologist Carlo Emilio Piazzini notes that Acosta and Uricoechea, among others, devoted many more pages to the Muiscas and the eastern highlands than to any of the other indigenous groups of New Granada. He argues that such choices of emphasis were linked to nineteenth-century interregional politics. Carlo Emilio Piazzini, “Arqueografías: Una aproximación a las imágenes del espacio en la arqueología de Colombia” (paper presented at “Mapping the Nation: Cartography and Politics in Spanish America,” University of the Andes, Bogotá, Colombia, 26 Aug. 2010).

64. Codazzi, “Antigüedades indígenas,” 267–93.

65. *Ibid.*, 273.

Thus, according to Codazzi, the monkey, a supposedly lascivious creature, signified procreation, a theme reiterated with phalluses and mother-and-child pairings—all of which provided a “warning to man that the satisfied instinct for procreation brought with it the consequence of having to love and care for children.”⁶⁶ But San Agustín was a civilization in its cognitive “infancy” that had yet to develop a sophisticated language: “Precisely to that era of infancy correspond the symbols and allegories, which far from being the product of a refined intellectual culture, are no more than an accident born of the poverty of language; the lack of words to express all ideas obliged it to recur to analogies.”⁶⁷ This use of symbols was, for Codazzi, a symptom of truncated maturation.

This nascent civilization had been “killed in its cradle by the Spanish Conquest,” its inhabitants ostensibly scattered into the tropical forests on the eastern slopes of the mountains “where the solitude, roughness, and savagery of the land had made them recede into the most complete barbarity.”⁶⁸ As in the highlands around Bogotá, Spanish colonialism had initially led to barbarism rather than to greater progress: societal evolution had changed course due to a cataclysm. This tension between a gradual evolutionary trajectory and sudden transformative cataclysms was a recurring leitmotif in the commission’s narratives, as it was in the geological theories of leading catastrophists such as Cuvier.

Historia Patria: A Two-Act Drama

Historia patria—patriotic history—was framed in New Granada as a two-act drama enacted on a singular territorial stage.⁶⁹ Midcentury historians drew implicit and explicit analogies and links between indigenous resistance to the Spanish conquerors and patriots’ resistance to the Spanish empire. For example, Uricoechea wrote, “if today we lament the loss of enlightened men who shone among us and who in 1816 were victims of the despotic blade, we see in this only the second act, the reflection of that of years before, when brave inhabitants of the plain of Bogotá and its immediate surroundings had to suffer at hands no less barbarous.”⁷⁰ Thus the barbarous Spanish conquest was depicted as the first act in a two-part patriotic drama consisting of the conquest and independence wars.

66. Ibid., 274.

67. Ibid., 282.

68. Ibid., 269.

69. For some Mexican historians and archaeologists, pre-Columbian civilization constituted the “preamble” to real *historia patria*. See Earle, *Return of the Native*, 107.

70. Uricoechea, *Memoria sobre las antigüedades*, 39.

Codazzi reiterated the same two-act script in the official geographical reports that he wrote on each of the provinces of New Granada that he visited. He began each one with a description of events that had taken place in that province during the conquest and independence eras. For example, the first two paragraphs of "Geography of the Province of Socorro" linked the conquest and late colonial resistance to the Spanish in a continuous narrative of patriotic bellicosity: "The ancient country of the Guanes, today the province of Socorro, has been distinguished since the time of the conquest for the bellicose and resolute character of its inhabitants. Their inclination toward independence was manifested in the noisy uprising of 1781."⁷¹ He went on to describe the *socorranos* as tenacious guerrillas in the independence war, as if the largely creole and mestizo Socorran patriots and the indigenous Guanes warriors were one and the same.

In recounting an 1816 battle between patriots and royalists on the Tambo ridge in the southwestern province of Popayán, Codazzi referred back to the defeat of the indigenous leader for whom the province was named: "in this same place Belalcázar had obtained a complete triumph over the Chief Popayán 280 years before."⁷² Thus one singular geographical location was imbued with double significance and served to link two disparate struggles into a singular narrative.⁷³ The defeated Indians of the sixteenth century were redeemed by the patriots of the nineteenth. The intersection of both narratives at one spot made the events analogous and even implied that the second was foreordained by the first. Codazzi thus gave the nation a dual beginning. The nation was forged in the crucible of two epic struggles that, while separated in time, were unified in space. The opening paragraph of the report on the province of Tunja also moved seamlessly from the Muiscas to independence in one sentence: "the province of Tunja, center of a kingdom the Conquerors found flowering and quite civilized, whose Zaque or Sovereign resided where today is founded the City that gave name to the territory, was also the theater of the rapid campaign that determined the liberty of these countries."⁷⁴

Codazzi went on to emphasize that Tunja contained the most important

71. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la provincia de Socorro," *GO*, 2 Dec. 1852, p. 831.

72. Agustín Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia de Popayán," in Domínguez Ossa et al., *Obras Completas*, 1:215.

73. On sites where time and space fuse, see Craib, *Cartographic Mexico*, 40–41. See also Ernesto Capello, *City at the Center of the World: Space, History, and Modernity in Quito* (Pittsburgh, PA: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 2011).

74. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la provincia de Tunja," *GO*, 22 Dec. 1853, p. 967.

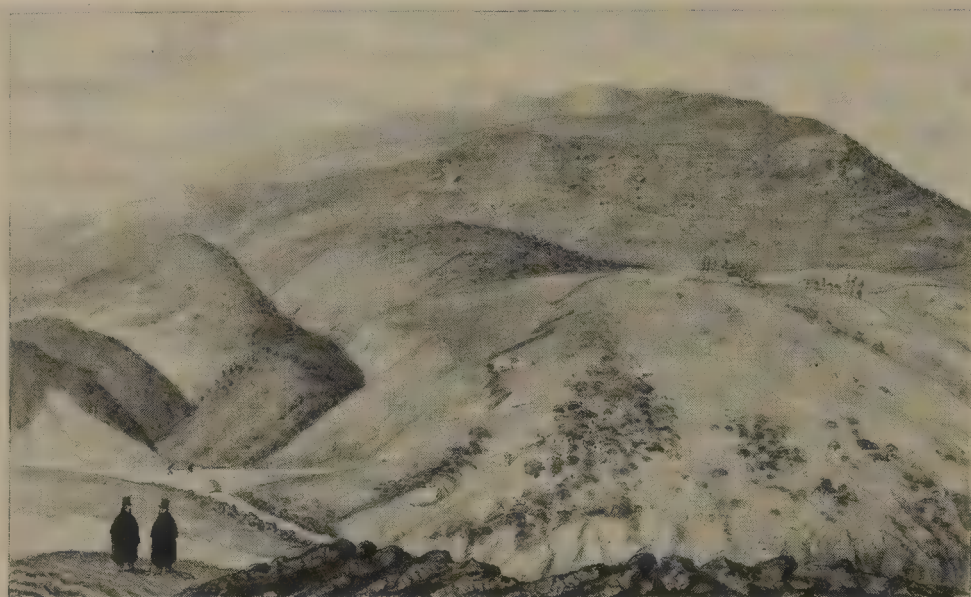


Figure 2. Carmelo Fernández, *Vista del terreno en donde se dió la acción de Boyacá, la que dió libertad al país*, ca. 1850. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá.

site in the country's patriotic narrative, the significance of which resounded throughout Spanish South America: the fields and creek at which the crucial Battle of Boyacá of August 7, 1819, had been fought (fig. 2). He thus placed the province and the larger Boyacá region within the narrative of continental *historia patria* by emphasizing the decisive nature of the patriots' victory at Boyacá in the wars to liberate South America from the Spanish, wars in which he himself took part (though he was not present at Boyacá). In these fields, he wrote, was fought the battle that led to the liberation of New Granada and the rest of South America.⁷⁵

Despite the national and international significance of the site of the Battle of Boyacá, its location, like the ridges at Tambo and Tausa, remained unmarked. Only a learned traveler, versed in *historia patria*, would recognize these ordinary fields and creek in the highland of Boyacá as a landmark; only the educated imagination would hear the cacophony of long-ago battles echoed in the hillsides and the sounds of rushing water. The Chorographic Commission lamented the lack of a monument that would mark this location: "In vain

75. Ibid.

the eyes of the patriot seek in the solitary field of Boyacá a monument, even a column that would commemorate such a great and decisive event: the solitary moors and the noise of the nearby rapids are the only that speak of the American redemption!"⁷⁶

The Chorographic Commission provided the first known painting of the Boyacá battlefield.⁷⁷ The only indication of the site's importance in the painting itself comes from two small human figures portrayed in the foreground wearing what appear to be military uniforms. The sloping hillsides strewn with boulders, inhabited with houses and fences, and traversed by the barely glimpsed road and creek are otherwise notable only for their ordinariness.

Yet even this ordinary landscape contains subtle references that looped further back in time. Efraín Sánchez, a leading historian of the Chorographic Commission, has argued that stones and boulders similarly strewn around in other paintings by the commission were not random but were rather references to geology.⁷⁸ Scattered boulders were evidence of the great uplift that had given rise to the Andean cordilleras, spewing detritus all around. The foreboding rock outcropping in the foreground provides a reminder of the landscape's volcanic origins. Thus the commission suggested a link between the violent upheavals of natural and national history.

Through narratives, maps, and illustrations, the commission made sure to convert such unmarked locations into landmarks or fixed reference points for the nation's maps, *historia patria*, and self-image.⁷⁹ The Boyacá battlefield and some other such sites deemed significant in patriotic history were painted by the artists of the Chorographic Commission along with unheralded archaeological monuments and other places considered to be of particular importance. Images in the album included the churches in Ocaña and Cúcuta where important independence-era congresses had been held, houses in which important episodes in the independence war had taken place, the painted and engraved boulders and cliffsides discussed above, sacred Muisca lakes such as Guatavita, and the famous waterfall at Tequendama, through which the Savannah of Bogotá had ostensibly drained.

76. Ibid.

77. Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales," 106–7, 172.

78. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 575–91, esp. 582. Sánchez rightly insists that the commission's images were not simply transparent "snapshots" of the surroundings but were rather arguments.

79. On landmarks' importance for nineteenth-century geographers, see D. Graham Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed: Exploration, Geography, and a British El Dorado* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2000), esp. 148–98.

In all these cases, the commission sought to create sites of civil commemoration; by marking the landscape, they hoped to make it readable to all. In the words of Pierre Nora, they were creating *lieux de mémoire*, locations or artifacts in which nationalist memory would be preserved and reenacted.⁸⁰ In fact, the commission intended that its own work—its maps and atlases and illustrated texts—would in itself constitute a monument, a kind of lieu de mémoire. In the short run, however, it did not quite work out that way.⁸¹

Government support for the commission waned during the second half of the 1850s as the commission missed its original deadline for completion and continued to demand more funds from the depleted national treasury. The original sponsors of the commission were no longer in office. Some members of the expedition had departed for health reasons, for other official posts, or for the pursuit of scientific research abroad. Several of the workers who provided the commission's essential logistical support died, apparently as a result of fevers contracted on the trail. Codazzi himself took ill and died on an expedition to the Atlantic coastal region in 1859, before the commission's work was concluded. The deluxe volumes envisioned by Codazzi and Ancízar, which were to unite the commission's scientific observations on all aspects of the republic with illustrations and extensive maps, were never completed. Nonetheless, more modest compilations of the commission's texts and cartography were eventually published and incorporated into subsequent schoolbooks, atlases, and maps that shaped nineteenth-century Colombians' understanding of their national territory and its pasts.⁸²

80. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," in "Memory and Counter-Memory," ed. Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn, special issue, *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7–24.

81. "Comision Corográfica," *GO*, 5 Jan. 1851, p. 14.

82. Pérez, *Jeografía Jeneral*; Felipe Pérez, *Compendio de geografía jeneral de los Estados de Colombia* (Bogotá: Imprenta de Echeverría Hermanos, 1876); Felipe Pérez, *Geografía general física y política de los Estados Unidos de Colombia y geografía particular de la ciudad de Bogotá* (Bogotá: Imprenta de Echeverría Hermanos, 1883); Agustín Codazzi, Manuel María Paz, and Felipe Pérez, *Atlas geográfico é histórico de la república de Colombia (antigua Nueva Granada)*. . . (Paris: Imprinta A. Lahure, 1890); Francisco Javier Vergara y Velasco, *Nueva Geografía de Colombia, escrita por regiones naturales* (Bogotá: Imprenta del Vapor, 1901); Élisée Reclus, *Colombia*, trans. and annot. Francisco Javier Vergara y Velasco (Bogotá: Papelería de Samper Matiz, 1893). See also Lina del Castillo, "The Science of Nation Building: A History of Geographic Sciences in Colombia, 1821–1921" (PhD diss., University of Miami, 2007). Though impossible to fully measure, the commission's influence on perceptions of the national territory and its pasts merits further study.

The Politics of the Past

The publication of these works was not without conflict. Intellectuals associated with the commission sought to publicize New Granada's great potential overseas and to establish their own—and their nation's—reputation among international scientists. They published their results in Paris and gained entrée into the highest scientific circles. Some of them obtained coveted membership in and honors from scientific societies in Europe and North America. They also incurred the jealousies and criticisms of their peers; the disputes over their work were embedded in, and magnified by, the factional power struggles of their day.

Scholars have documented the importance of historiography in New Granada's nineteenth-century ideological conflicts.⁸³ The same can be said for geography, archaeology, and geology. As competing factions fought, often violently, over the future direction of the nation, they also fought bitterly over the nation's past. They competed not only for control over the government but also for scientific authority, the right to constitute themselves as the interlocutors who would represent national science on the world stage.

Before and after Codazzi's death in 1859, the work of the Chorographic Commission was the subject of myriad disputes aired in the Bogotá press. Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera was one of the fiercest critics.⁸⁴ The most powerful and controversial strongman in Colombian politics from the 1840s to the 1860s, Mosquera served as president three times, first as a Conservative and then twice as a Liberal. Ironically, in his first presidency, he had been one of the commission's original sponsors. He and Codazzi then fought side by side in the 1854 civil war. Ancizar subsequently supported Mosquera's successful military bid for power in the civil war of 1859–1862. Mosquera himself was a geographer and a scholar; he had published his own version of the national map as well as a geographical text.⁸⁵ Over time he apparently came to see Codazzi as an intellectual competitor.

Mosquera penned a 20-page critique in 1858 of Codazzi's plans for an atlas.⁸⁶ Mosquera especially objected to Codazzi's inclusion of geological maps.

83. Among other texts, see Betancourt, *Historia y nación*, 27–84; Mejía, *El pasado como refugio*; Bernardo Tovar Zambrano, *La colonia en la historiografía colombiana* (Bogotá: La Carreta, 1984).

84. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 637.

85. Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, *Memoir on the Physical and Political Geography of New Granada*, trans. Theodore Dwight (New York: T. Dwight, 1853).

86. "Juicio crítico e indicaciones del Jeneral Mosquera," Archivo General de la Nación, Bogotá (hereafter cited as AGN), Archivo Anexo, Fondo Asuntos Importantes (SAA-I 2), tomo 3, carpeta 2–3, ff. 360–70. See also Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 636–39.

Over half of Mosquera's treatise consisted of an "overview" of geological theories, starting with biblical accounts and the accounts of the ancients.⁸⁷ He cited an array of European experts, emphasizing the tentative and contradictory nature of their theories. He summarized arguments against catastrophist and vulcanist explanations. And he argued, moreover, that Codazzi's affirmations regarding geology were "hypothetical"; Codazzi was merely voicing "an opinion, not yet demonstrated by the savants."⁸⁸

After Codazzi's unexpected death, Mosquera directed his ire toward Felipe Pérez, a young writer whom the government had contracted to complete and publish the Chorographic Commission's geography texts. Mosquera managed to suppress one of Pérez's books and then publicly lambasted another one.⁸⁹ Among his many criticisms of Pérez and Codazzi, Mosquera disdained Codazzi's use of local black and Indian informants and contested Pérez's historical account of the conquest.⁹⁰ Mosquera criticized Pérez's historical writing as a "polemic against the Spaniards."⁹¹ According to Mosquera, "we Colombians are Spanish, and the son should be just" (by this time, the name of the country had changed from New Granada to Colombia).⁹² Mosquera claimed that the Spaniards had been no worse than any of the other European colonizing powers in the New World. In response, Pérez published an extensive defense of his and Codazzi's work and reputations.⁹³ "Abroad," Pérez noted, his own books merited him "a seat among the savants. . . . national glory reflected in my person."⁹⁴

One of Pérez's allies at that time was a powerful rival of Mosquera within the Liberal camp, Manuel Murillo Toro, who served as president of Colombia. Murillo Toro later supported a coup against Mosquera's third presidency in 1867.⁹⁵ Scholarly reputations and political power were, for many leaders, closely linked. Such passionate public disputes reflect just how seriously these men took science, history, and, especially, their own scientific reputations.

87. "Juicio crítico e indicaciones del Jeneral Mosquera," AGN, Archivo Anexo, Fondo Asuntos Importantes (SAA-I 2), tomo 3, carpeta 2-3, f. 362.

88. Ibid., f. 367r.

89. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 450; Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, "Informe sobre la jeografía jeneral de Colombia, escrita por Felipe Pérez," *Diario Oficial* (Bogotá), 22 June 1866, pp. 602-4.

90. Mosquera, "Informe sobre la jeografía jeneral," 604.

91. Ibid., 602.

92. Ibid.

93. Felipe Pérez, *Réplicas jeográficas: El gran jeneral Mosquera y Felipe Pérez* (Bogotá: Imprenta de "El Mosaico," 1865).

94. Ibid., 2.

95. Recounted in Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 453-57.

In attempting to refute the Black Legend, moreover, Mosquera referenced a dilemma with which the mid-nineteenth-century Spanish American scholars of the conquest had grappled. They exalted the conquered civilizations that they saw as precursors to their own nations, but they identified personally as belonging to the Spanish race that brutally conquered these civilizations. Many of these intellectuals, including Ancízar, Murillo Toro, and Pérez (and, at times, Mosquera) were Liberals who advocated sweeping away all that they considered to be vestiges of colonial backwardness in the name of progress. The older ones among the midcentury scholar-statesmen—Mosquera, Acosta, and, Codazzi—had fought personally against the Spanish. Thus it is not surprising that they often portrayed the Spanish conquest and colonial regime as backward and brutal. Acosta, a moderate Conservative, addressed this tension quite explicitly in the introduction to his historical narrative, noting that his own pen was held by a “hand of Spanish origin.”⁹⁶

By the time Mosquera criticized Pérez’s negative depiction of the Spanish conquest, Conservative historians were actively revising the Black Legend. José Manuel Groot and Joaquín Posada Gutiérrez published national histories that dwelled upon the colonial period, exalting the Hispanic legacy and vindicating colonial-era institutions such as the church as having an enduring importance for Colombian society.⁹⁷ They reportedly did so in part in response to authors such as de Plaza, Ancízar, and Acosta, and in part out of revulsion at the tumultuous radicalism and secularism of midcentury Liberals. By the end of the nineteenth century, when the proclerical Regeneration movement gave birth to the political era that Colombian historians refer to as the Conservative Hegemony, this emphasis on the Hispanic legacy was incorporated into the nation’s official history. It was favored by the members of the National Academy of History, founded at the turn of the century.⁹⁸

Likewise, archaeological interpretations were affected by the changing political and cultural climate, as evidenced in Vicente Restrepo’s 1895 book *Los*

96. Acosta, *Compendio histórico*, viii. Pérez wrote that “we Colombians are Spanish by misfortune.” Pérez, *Réplicas geográficas*, 20. Codazzi, of course, was not Spanish at all; he had been born in the Papal State of Lugo.

97. I rely here on the analysis provided in Betancourt, *Historia y nación*, 41–44; José Manuel Groot, *Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada*, 2 vols. (1869–1870; Bogotá: Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1956); and Joaquín Posada Gutiérrez, *Memorias histórico-políticas*, 2 vols. (1951; Medellín, Colombia: Editorial Bedout, 1971). See also Mejía, *El pasado como refugio*.

98. Betancourt, *Historia y nación*, 45–84.

Chibchas antes de la conquista española.⁹⁹ In keeping with the pro-Spanish tendencies of Conservative Colombian scholarship at the time, Restrepo refuted the midcentury intellectuals' critique of the conquest. According to Restrepo, the Spaniards brought, rather than destroyed, civilization. He emphasized Chibcha (Muisca) idolatry and human sacrifice; he claimed that most of the Chibchas were "timid" in the face of Spanish superiority and that their territory was less extensive than previously assumed.¹⁰⁰ He scoffed at analogies between the Chibchas and the modern nation.¹⁰¹ For Restrepo, the Chibchas were entirely illiterate and "did not have history."¹⁰² They lacked writing. Duquesne's theories were "fantasies."¹⁰³ The calendar stone was no such thing, and, moreover, ignorant eighteenth-century Indians could not have helped Duquesne interpret it.¹⁰⁴

As for pictographs such as those analyzed by Codazzi and Ancízar, Restrepo did not find them eloquent. They remained "condemned . . . by the unconscious hands that traced them, to an eternal silence, never will the magic wand of science make them speak."¹⁰⁵ Restrepo's critique of the midcentury intellectuals thus dismissed one of their favorite geological stories. He insisted that the draining of the high Andean lakes had occurred long before the region was inhabited by human beings and was thus recorded by no one.¹⁰⁶ In this way he severed the links that midcentury intellectuals had drawn between prehistory and history, decoupling the interconnected pasts and unmooring them from the archaeological sites in which they had been anchored.

Further research is warranted on how geological interpretations might have been contested and used to support opposing political projects in New Granada (and Latin America more generally) over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Yet the fact that Mosquera devoted so many pages to

99. Vicente Restrepo, *Los Chibchas antes de la conquista española* (Bogotá: Imprenta de La Luz, 1895).

100. *Ibid.*, 107.

101. *Ibid.*, 1.

102. *Ibid.*, 178.

103. *Ibid.*, 158–68.

104. See also Vicente Restrepo, *Crítica de los trabajos arqueológicos del Dr. José Domingo Duquesne* (Bogotá: Imprenta de "La Nación," 1892); Ernesto Restrepo Tirado, *Estudios sobre los aborígenes de Colombia* (Bogotá: Imprenta de La Luz, 1892); Botero, *El redescubrimiento del pasado prehispánico*, 43–45, 91–94; Earle, *Return of the Native*, 146; Langebaek, *Los herederos del pasado*, 294–95. For a recent attempt to vindicate Duquesne, see Izquierdo Peña, "Muisca Calendar," esp. 19–25.

105. Restrepo, *Los Chibchas*, 176.

106. *Ibid.*, 43.

Codazzi's geological theories suggests that geology was as politically charged as history and archaeology. My brief inquiry in the pages above suggests that more scholars of Latin American historiography and archaeology would be well served to incorporate geology, as well as conceptions of historic and prehistoric time, into their analyses of patriotic accounts of national pasts.

Conclusion

To go back to the questions posed at the beginning of this article: Why emphasize catastrophic transformations over more gradual evolution, and why collapse disparate time frames into a singular narrative? And what did such portrayals of the past say about the midcentury elite's aspirations for the nation's present and future?

The preference for cataclysmic geological explanations might simply be explained by the professional relationships that Acosta and Codazzi enjoyed with leading catastrophists in Paris. But their own tumultuous experiences, as well as their aspirations for their nations' future, would have made Latin American intellectuals particularly receptive to catastrophic theories. According to Cañizares-Esguerra, "Clearly, Mexican intellectuals preferred catastrophist geological narratives to uniformitarian ones largely because their reading of the history of the Earth was colored by the tumultuous and tragic events they experienced in the nineteenth century."¹⁰⁷ I do not think the evidence is as yet so clear as to permit such an unequivocal assertion in the particular case of Colombia. But given their personal experiences and ideologies, it is not surprising that Colombian intellectuals' scientific and historical writings emphasized revolution and cataclysm.

Codazzi and Acosta personally experienced the great upheavals of the early nineteenth century in both Europe and Latin America. Codazzi had seen his childhood home in Lugo sacked and he later fought under Napoleon, while Acosta witnessed the French revolutions of 1830 and 1848 at close hand.¹⁰⁸ They both fought in the independence wars. Early republican New Granada, moreover, suffered repeated armed uprisings by contending factions. Codazzi and Acosta were no radicals; they strongly advocated social order. Radicals such as Ancizar, on the other hand, embraced the idea of revolution. Midcentury young Liberals like Ancizar envisioned themselves as agents of a revolutionary upheaval that was sweeping out the vestiges of Spanish colonialism. For

107. Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation*, 161.

108. Acosta de Samper, *Biografía del general Joaquín Acosta*, 107–318, 393–475.

radical Liberals, the revolutions of 1848, at home and abroad, were dramatically advancing, rather than reversing, progress.

In addition to the political upheavals going on in Europe and Latin America, the commissioners would have been familiar with sudden floods and avalanches. Unbeknownst to its participants, the Chorographic Commission took place at the exact moment that climate historians now mark as the end of the Little Ice Age. Since the 1500s, advancing glaciers in the Alps and elsewhere had formed lakes behind ice barriers that had given way quite suddenly, flooding fields and communities below.¹⁰⁹ Thus, it is not surprising that the commission would have easily imagined similar disasters in the Andes as well.

Additionally, both the young radicals and their more cautious elders were invested in a national project in which highland Bogotá and its environs would maintain its primacy as the national capital and seat of culture and industry.¹¹⁰ They shared nineteenth-century assumptions about the superiority of temperate climates, which in equatorial countries such as Colombia exist only at significant altitude. Thus it is not surprising that within their narratives the Andean mountains themselves emerged as the protagonists, along with the mountains' highland inhabitants.¹¹¹ By emphasizing the glorious origins and civilizations of the Andean region around Bogotá at the expense of lower "savage" climes, the narrators reinforced Bogotá's tenuous claim over a topographically disparate territory. The emphasis on a precursor state with a defined territory, moreover, made the polity appear timeless. The many time frames in which the nation had been constituted—geological, mythical, prehistorical, and modern—all

109. Brian Fagan, *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History, 1300–1850* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 123–27; Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Times of Feast, Times of Famine: A History of Climate since the Year 1000*, trans. Barbara Bray (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971), esp. 129–225; Jean M. Grove, *The Little Ice Age* (London: Methuen, 1988), esp. 76–88, 141–56; Mark Carey, *In the Shadow of Melting Glaciers: Climate Change and Andean Society* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2010). The glaciers also caused rock falls and avalanches. Such occurrences are best documented for Europe, but similar disasters likely happened in the Andes too.

110. On the economic importance of Bogotá, see Agustín Codazzi, "Informe sobre vías de comunicación del Estado de Cundinamarca," *GO*, 18 Nov. 1858, pp. 542–44.

111. New Granada's mountains appeared as protagonists in the influential work of pioneering geographer Francisco José de Caldas on the eve of independence; he exalted them for providing a diversity of products as well as temperate climates where civilization could flourish. Francisco José de Caldas, *Obras completas de Francisco José de Caldas* (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1966), 112. See also Mauricio Nieto Olarte, *Orden natural y orden social: Ciencia y política en el semanario del Nuevo Reyno de Granada* (Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, 2009), 191–200.

overlapped and merged precisely because in nationalist discourse, the nation transcends time.

Mid-nineteenth-century New Granada was struggling politically and economically; there were few objective signs that this poor young country was destined for greatness. But when Acosta, Codazzi, and Ancízar gazed out at the country's panoramic views, they saw in its jagged peaks, striated cliffs, and scattered boulders evidence of dramatic origins and grandeur. In reading a natural and human history written in the mountainsides, they endowed this tenuous and impoverished republic with a grandiose and cataclysmic geology, a refined pre-Hispanic civilization, and a patriotic history of liberation struggles, not to mention awe-inspiring sublimity—all of which implied that New Granada was destined for a promising future. The Andes of New Granada constituted a gigantic theater where the dramas of volcanic uplift, catastrophic deluges, cataclysmic conquests, tragic resistance, and ongoing revolutionary struggles to cast off the yoke and legacies of imperialism had all been enacted, all ultimately merging into one continual epic performance of national emergence that presaged future greatness.

But just who belonged to that nation was an unresolved tension in the elite's narratives and aspirational political projects. As Betancourt argues, nineteenth-century Colombian historiography "constructed a national past incapable of an inclusive image of the nation."¹¹² For whenever the discussion of indigenous civilizations turned from the past to the present, the tone changed. As many scholars have reminded us, admiration for pre-Columbian achievements did not translate into similarly exalted sentiments toward modern Indians.¹¹³ For all their allusions to the intellectual and artistic accomplishments of earlier civilizations, and for all their use of pre-Columbian and contemporary indigenous sources to support their own theories, midcentury elite creoles and naturalized foreigners alike viewed nineteenth-century Indians with distress.

For just one telling example of such sentiments, let us return to Ancízar at the peñon of Tausa in 1850, daydreaming about the bravery and patriotism of martyred sixteenth-century Muisca. Awoken from his reverie, Ancízar encountered a local *indio*. The encounter led Ancízar to complain about the state of the Muisca's descendants:

Humble and dejected they seek the blessing of the son of Spaniards who is here paying respect to the unmerited disgrace. "Let Our Faaadder crown

112. Betancourt, *Historia y nación*, 22.

113. See the works cited in footnotes 5 and 6 above.

you in glory!" the poor Tausa Indian exclaimed effusively, upon receiving from me the small token that he sought, with broken hat in his hand, on those same rocks soaked with the blood of his ancestors. "Oh ignorance," I said to myself sadly, and I hurried to leave that place.¹¹⁴

In hurriedly taking his leave from Tausa, Ancízar was turning away not from the ancient past but from the most worrying aspects of his own era. For him, the great tragedy of such a place was neither the massacre that once took place there nor the cataclysm that had given rise to the land itself, but rather the degradation and ignorance of the Muisca's descendants. In the faces, bodies, and comportment of the indigenous peasants of his own day he perceived neither the noble savages of his imagined past nor the educated citizens of his aspirational future. Rather, he saw only degeneration and oblivion.

Educated observers, epitomized by Ancízar, Codazzi, and Acosta, prided themselves on their historic and scientific literacy; they could read the grandiose records of the patria inscribed in the mountainsides. Local indigenous inhabitants had directly and indirectly provided these urban elites with vital information: Indians had led explorers to artifacts and even helped to interpret them. Yet the intellectual elite characterized the Indians, and the poor rural masses more generally, as literally and figuratively illiterate. Having lost the memory of their once-great Chibcha ancestors, the Indians were ostensibly deaf to the eloquence of pre-Columbian monuments and blind to the landmarks' historical significance. They could not read nature's geological archives. From the elite perspective, indigenous peasants would not be easily integrated into an imagined national community of educated citizens based on a shared historical memory embedded on a readable landscape.

114. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 1:32.

Performing Abolitionism, Enacting Citizenship: The Social Construction of Political Rights in 1880s Recife, Brazil

Celso Thomas Castilho

Giuseppina de Senespleda Battaglia's star turn on Recife's political stage was not scripted. En route from Italy to Salvador, Bahia, in April 1881, Senespleda probably anticipated a brief and uneventful stopover in Recife, the provincial capital of Pernambuco and the customary port of entry for European voyages. News of the soprano, however, continued appearing in the local press for several months after her arrival. The troupe director's decision to renege on the original contract and to stay in Recife unknowingly put Senespleda in the eye of a brewing political storm, as her experiences became entwined with rising levels of abolitionist mobilization. In particular, Senespleda's decisions to participate in (and to politicize) a manumission ceremony—against orders from the director—and to also hold her own antislavery benefit concert put the issue of abolitionism on center stage. These acts transformed the theater into a site of political contestation, reconfiguring conventional notions of public political behavior. Her movements through Recife even changed the urban lexicon. The

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word “Senespledista” entered local parlance, appearing in the press as shorthand for the male law student groups spearheading abolitionist mobilization.¹ The invention and elaboration of the “Senespledista” phenomenon occurred rapidly and spectacularly, and it was riven with controversy. It offers initial insights into the evolving links between performance, the construction of an abolitionist movement, and the expanding repertoires of political expression in late imperial Brazil.

The scattering of articles covering Senespleda’s involvement in local affairs highlights a specific moment in the arc of provincial and national politics of antislavery when the most dynamic discussions and initiatives were occurring in the press and on city streets, beyond the parliamentary sphere. Senespleda flouted gendered norms about public behavior during her three-month stay, spurring a collective reckoning with the problem of slavery that sparked levels of organized political abolitionist action previously unseen in Recife. Her actions, and the connections made between the Senespledistas and a wider public around theatrical events, created political practices that were crucial for the forging of an abolitionist movement. The Senespledista phenomenon, therefore, deserves serious consideration on one level because it casts light on how a broad social movement crystallized, a development that forced local debates and legislation on slave emancipation. On another level, the Senespledista wave that swept Recife in the early 1880s merits further reflection because in generating spaces for audiences to participate in the drama of abolition, it unleashed a simultaneous rethinking and refashioning of the parameters of political belonging in late imperial Brazil.

This article analyzes the role of performance in the construction of the abolitionist movement in Recife and explores broadly how the struggle for slave emancipation also set in motion significant changes in the meanings and practices of citizenship and national identity. Abolitionist performances, which included theater and representations in carnival, reflected a changing and expanding conception of political mobilization, creating ways for countless ordinary men and women to participate in the struggle for abolition. Abolition-

1. *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 14 May 1881, p. 3. For previous attention to Senespleda and Thomas Passini’s Lyrical Company, see Luzilá Gonçalves Ferreira, “A luta das mulheres pernambucas,” in Luzilá Gonçalves Ferreira et al., *Suaves Amazonas: Mulheres e abolição da escravidão no nordeste* (Recife, Brazil: Editora Universitária da UFPE, 1999), 53–56; José Amaro Santos da Silva, *Música e ópera no Santa Isabel: Subsídio para a história e o ensino da música no Recife* (Recife, Brazil: Editora Universitária da UFPE, 2006), 86, 105–7; Samuel Campelo, “O Theatro em Pernambuco,” *Revista do Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano* 24, no. 115–18 (1922): 583.

ist performances were crucial for framing the problem of emancipation as a national problem, thereby opening avenues for collective intervention. However, while abolitionist performances extended the parameters of mass political participation, they also produced narratives of progress that both stigmatized Africanness and elided the place of the freed slaves within the newly envisioned body politic.² The idea of liberation, then, at times reflected more a “desire to free Brazil from the problems of slavery than . . . a wish to emancipate the slaves.”³

A focus on the cultural processes of political mobilization in Recife prompts a reassessment of how we understand the making of the national abolitionist movement because the forms of local reckonings with national identity, belonging, and blackness were also prevalent elsewhere. In rooting this case study on processes and dynamics, I attempt to utilize abolitionist performances to illustrate how provincial movements coalesced and to suggest that such performances represented a key way of unifying the seemingly disparate local manifestations within one broader political imaginary. Newspaper coverage of abolitionist performances elsewhere influenced the scope of actions locally and further helped connect such local actions to the national movement. It was known, for example, that Francisco Correa Vasques, Nadine Bulicioff, and a host of other actors and actresses utilized their stage presence to publicize and

2. On antislavery and the production of hierarchies, see Dale W. Tomich, *Through the Prism of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), 56–74. Important works exploring the nexus between race and citizenship in late nineteenth-century Brazil include Wlamyra R. de Albuquerque, *O jogo da dissimulação: Abolição e cidadania negra no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2009); Hebe Mattos, “Raça e cidadania no crepúsculo da modernidade escravista no Brasil,” in *O Brasil Imperial*, ed. Keila Grinberg and Ricardo Salles, vol. 3, 1870–1889 (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2009), 15–39; Martha S. Santos, “On the Importance of Being Honorable: Masculinity, Survival, and Conflict in the Backlands of Northeast Brazil, Ceará, 1840s–1890,” *The Americas* 64, no. 1 (2007): 35–57; Maria Helena Pereira Toledo Machado, “From Slave Rebels to Strikebreakers: The Quilombo of Jabaquara and the Problem of Citizenship in Late-Nineteenth-Century Brazil,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 86, no. 2 (2006): 247–74; Thomas Holloway, “The Defiant Life and Forgotten Death of Apulco de Castro: Race, Power, and Historical Memory,” *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* 19, no. 1 (2008): 81–101; Sidney Chalhoub, “The Politics of Silence: Race and Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century Brazil,” *Slavery and Abolition* 27, no. 1 (2006): 73–87.

3. Emilia Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories*, rev. ed. (1985; Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2000), 170. See also José Murilo de Carvalho, *Cidadania no Brasil: O longo caminho*, 10th ed. (2001; Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2008), 55–56; Rebecca Baird Bergstresser, “The Movement for the Abolition of Slavery in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1880–1889” (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1973), 139.

politicize local abolitionism in Rio de Janeiro, the national capital.⁴ Similarly, recent research on abolitionism in the cities of Ouro Preto, Diamantina, and Goiás has also emphasized the importance of theatrical performances for spurring political mobilizations.⁵ Compared, then, to the largely isolated regional uprisings of the early nineteenth century, the interconnection and scale of abolitionist activism in the 1880s marked a distinct era in the history of Brazilian political mobilizations. Reliant on interactive campaigns and assertions of popular sovereignty, abolitionism is treated here as an “invented” and specific form of politics that, in effect, represented Brazil’s first national social movement.⁶

In the wake of the drastic, exclusionary consequences of the 1881 electoral law, the abolitionist movement represented a critical vehicle through which to recreate notions of political belonging; through abolitionist practices, discourse, and performances, people continued to negotiate their place vis-à-vis the state and other sectors of society.⁷ A denial of the right to vote notwith-

4. Andrea Marzano, *Cidade em cena: O ator Vasques, o teatro e o Rio de Janeiro (1839–1892)* (Rio de Janeiro: Folha Seca, 2008), 72–80; Camillia Cowling, “Debating Womanhood, Defining Freedom: The Abolition of Slavery in 1880s Rio de Janeiro,” *Gender and History* 22, no. 2 (2010): 289; Angela Alonso, “The Theatricalization of Politics: The Brazilian Movement for the Abolition of Slavery” (paper presented at the 12th Annual Gilder Lehrman Center International Conference, “American Counterpoint: New Approaches to Slavery and Abolition in Brazil,” Yale University, New Haven, CT, 29–30 Oct. 2010); Eduardo Silva, “Resistência negra, teatro e abolição da escravidão,” *Sociedade Brasileira de Pesquisa Histórica* 26 (2006): 1–8.

5. On Minas Gerais, see Luiz Gustavo Santos Cota, “A liberdade entre o salão e a rua: Festas e abolicionismo em Minas Gerais nos últimos anos da escravidão,” in *Escravidão, mestiçagens, ambientes, paisagens e espaços*, ed. Eduardo França Paiva, Marcia Amantino, and Isnara Pereira Ivo (São Paulo: Annablume Editora, 2011), 253–82; on Goiás, see Thiago Sant’Anna, “‘Noites abolicionistas’: As mulheres encenam o teatro e abusam do piano na cidade de Goiás (1870–1888),” *Revista OPSIS* 6 (2006): 68–78.

6. Maria Helena Machado characterized abolitionism as part of the social movements of the 1880s nearly 20 years ago. Maria Helena Machado, *O plano e o pânico: Os movimentos sociais na década da abolição* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 1994), 14. Building on Charles Tilly’s studies of the construction and historicity of social movements, Angela Alonso and Seymour Drescher have most systematically approached abolitionism as such. See Alonso, “Theatricalization of Politics”; Seymour Drescher, “Brazilian Abolition in Comparative Perspective,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68, no. 3 (1988): 450–54; Charles Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768–2004* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2004), 35–37.

7. On framing abolitionism as a problem in political history, see Jeffrey D. Needell, “Brazilian Abolitionism, Its Historiography, and the Uses of Political History,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 42, no. 2 (2010): 231. Recent contributions to nineteenth-century Brazilian political history, with special attention to slavery, ideology, and state formation, include Márcia Berbel, Rafael Marquese, and Tâmis Parron, *Escravidão e política: Brasil e*

standing, people demonstrated other ways of affirming their political views, in a sense reconstruing the very meaning of political rights. While indebted to an expanding scholarly literature on the subject, I do not regard citizenship here as a fixed or immutable juridical condition, which implies a rationality and stability in the concept that does not exist.⁸ In late nineteenth-century Brazil, as in the

Cuba, 1790–1850 (São Paulo: FAPESP / Editora Hucitec, 2010); João José Reis and Hendrik Kraay, “‘The Tyrant is Dead!’ The Revolt of the Periquitos in Bahia, 1824,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (2009): 399–434; Jeffrey Mosher, *Political Struggle, Ideology, and State Building: Pernambuco and the Construction of Brazil, 1817–1850* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2008); Márcia Regina Berbel and Rafael de Bivar Marquese, “The Absence of Race: Slavery, Citizenship, and Pro-Slavery Ideology in the Cortes of Lisbon and the Rio de Janeiro Constituent Assembly (1821–4),” *Social History* 32, no. 4 (2007): 415–33; Roger A. Kittleson, *The Practice of Politics in Postcolonial Brazil: Porto Alegre, 1845–1895* (Pittsburgh, PA: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 2006); Jeffrey D. Needell, *The Party of Order: The Conservatives, the State, and Slavery in the Brazilian Monarchy, 1831–1871* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2006); Wiebke Ipsen, “Delicate Citizenship: Gender and Nationbuilding in Brazil, 1865–1891” (PhD diss., University of California, Irvine, 2005); Hendrik Kraay, *Race, State, and Armed Forces in Independence-Era Brazil: Bahia, 1790s–1840s* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2001); Judy Bieber, *Power, Patronage, and Political Violence: State Building on a Brazilian Frontier, 1822–1889* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1999); Roderick J. Barman, *Citizen Emperor: Pedro II and the Making of Brazil, 1825–91* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1999); Richard Graham, *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1990); Roderick J. Barman, *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798–1852* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1988); Sandra Lauderdale Graham, “The Vintem Riot and Political Culture: Rio de Janeiro, 1880,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 60, no. 3 (1980): 431–49.

8. On the concept of citizenship specifically, see de Carvalho, *Cidadania no Brasil*, 8; Hilda Sabato, “On Political Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century Latin America,” *American Historical Review* 106, no. 4 (2001): 1292–93; Kathleen Canning and Sonya O. Rose, “Gender, Citizenship and Subjectivity: Some Historical and Theoretical Considerations,” *Gender and History* 13, no. 3 (2001): 427–29. On nineteenth-century political citizenship, see Ricardo Salles, *Guerra do Paraguai: Escravidão e cidadania na formação do exército* (São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 1990); Keila Grinberg, *O fiador dos Brasileiros: Cidadania, escravidão e direito civil no tempo de Antonio Pereira Rebouças* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2002); Ipsen, “Delicate Citizenship”; Elías J. Palti, *El tiempo de la política: El siglo XIX reconsiderado* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2007), 13–21; Guillermo Palacios, ed., *Ensayos sobre la nueva historia política de América Latina, siglo XIX* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2007); José Murilo de Carvalho, ed., *Nação e cidadania no Império: Novos horizontes* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2007); Gladys Sabina Ribeiro, ed., *Brasileiros e cidadãos: Modernidade política, 1822–1930* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2008); José Murilo de Carvalho and Lúcia Maria Bastos Pereira das Neves, eds., *Repensando o Brasil do Oitocentos: Cidadania, política e liberdade* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2009).

twenty-first century and in other places and times, “the processes and practices that define citizenship are inherently disjunctive—not cumulative, linear, or evenly distributed among citizens but always a mix of progressive and regressive elements, unbalanced, heterogeneous, and corrosive.”⁹ As the initial details of Senespleda’s story suggest, abolitionist performances were recasting basic notions about where, how, and by whom politics could be made—dynamics that should interconnect the historiographies of slave emancipation, citizenship, and performance.

Following further elaboration of the essay’s conceptual and historiographical foundations, I proceed with an analysis of the political and discursive implications of abolitionist performances. The essay is divided into two parts, and across both sections it addresses three overarching questions: How and why did the abolitionist movement coalesce around performances? How did the practice and discourse connected to such performances alter understandings of nation and citizenship? And what were the legislative repercussions of abolitionist mobilization? The first section centers on abolitionist theater, and it explores the interconnections between the Senespledistas (law student abolitionists), theater, and the formation of the abolition movement. It then details the framing of antislavery as a national ideal. The second section introduces a different site of activism—carnival—and probes expressions of blackness and citizenship in street performances. Last, the article turns to the interface between the abolitionist movement and the provincial political arena, delving into the legislative ramifications of abolitionism in Pernambuco.

Slave Emancipation, Citizenship, and Performance

Within the vast and expanding field of Brazilian slave emancipation studies, a focus on the abolitionist movement may at first glance seem to stray from the central lines of inquiry that have shaped the recent historiography on slavery and abolition.¹⁰ The post-1980s historiography has largely, and importantly, recovered the salience of slave agency within studies of slavery, manumission, and abolition, a scholarly intervention that expanded concomitantly with ongo-

9. James Holston, *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2008), 311.

10. For succinct historiographical analyses, see Barbara Weinstein, “The Decline of the Progressive Planter and the Rise of Subaltern Agency: Shifting Narratives of Slave Emancipation in Brazil,” in *Reclaiming the Political in Latin American History: Essays from the North*, ed. Gilbert M. Joseph (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2001), 81–101; Needell, “Brazilian Abolitionism,” 233–38.

ing processes of redemocratization and heightened Afro-based activism in Brazil. “After the rise of the new black movement,” João José Reis and Herbert Klein stress, “Afro-Brazilians would never be the same; nor would the historiography of slavery, even though that connection has yet to become apparent to many historians.”¹¹

To be sure, slave agency was crucial in influencing shifts in personal and collective opinions on abolition, as people were obviously not born abolitionists, nor was the impetus for broad mobilization a natural or predictable development. At critical junctures of the 1880s, slave resistance radicalized the implications of associational abolitionism, a process that Maria Helena Machado explored for the case of São Paulo.¹² The far-reaching effects of slave resistance were nevertheless also related to and bound up with the pressures emanating largely, but not exclusively, from urban groups that heightened expectations for abolition in the court of public opinion. These were mutually constitutive phenomena, as slaves’ actions impelled broader mobilization and wider public participation emboldened slaves’ actions. Conceptually, my essay reflects such entwined dynamics, and in order to grapple more fully with the nexus between social action and the political arena, it considers slave agency, associational abolitionism, and provincial legislative politics together. The study of “abolitionism, and the Afro-Brazilian agency integral to it,” as Jeffrey Needell has also suggested, could still be fruitfully explored “if they were successfully reintegrated into the political realities . . . of the time.”¹³ To consider, then, the

11. João José Reis and Herbert S. Klein, “Slavery in Brazil,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American History*, ed. Jose C. Moya (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2011), 196. Emblematic of the new historiography on manumission and emancipation are Sidney Chalhoub, *Visões da liberdade: Uma história das últimas décadas da escravidão na Corte* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1990); Machado, *O plano e o pânico*; Keila Grinberg, *Liberata, a lei da ambigüidade: As ações de liberdade da Corte de Apelação do Rio de Janeiro no século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará, 1994); Hebe Maria Mattos de Castro, *Das cores do silêncio: Os significados da liberdade no sudeste escravista, Brasil século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 1995). For work in English, see Dale Torston Graden, *From Slavery to Freedom in Brazil: Bahia, 1835–1900* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 2006). An earlier body of scholarship on the social history of abolition, albeit with a focus on southeastern Brazil, includes Robert Brent Toplin, *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil* (New York: Atheneum, 1972); Warren Dean, *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820–1920* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1976); Costa, *Brazilian Empire*, 125–71.

12. Maria Helena Pereira Toledo Machado, “‘Teremos grandes desastres, se não houver providências enérgicas e imediatas’: A rebeldia dos escravos e a abolição da escravidão,” in Grinberg and Salles, *O Brasil Imperial*, vol. 3, 376–98. An earlier study is Toplin, *Abolition of Slavery*, 194–224.

13. Needell, “Brazilian Abolitionism,” 231.

topic of slave emancipation from the perspective of abolitionist mobilization is one way to also rethink the processes through which Brazilians negotiated the boundaries of political belonging in the late nineteenth century. This approach similarly complements rich studies on the legal, gendered, and comparative dimensions of Brazilian abolition.¹⁴

The wide-ranging mobilization around slave emancipation also changed the political implications of citizenship. The groundbreaking work of Hilda Sabato and José Murilo de Carvalho in particular has utilized the problem of political citizenship to grapple with not only the laws and practices of voting but also various dimensions of associative life, the formation of public spheres, and

14. On abolition and legal history, see Chalhoub, *Visões da liberdade*; Grinberg, *Liberata, a lei da ambigüidade*; Mattos, *Das cores do silêncio*; Joseli Maria Nunes Mendonça, *Entre a mão e os anéis: A lei dos sexagenários e os caminhos da abolição no Brasil* (Campinas, Brazil: Editora da UNICAMP, 1999); Elciene Azevedo, *Orfeu de carapinha: A trajetória de Luiz Gama na imperial cidade de São Paulo* (Campinas, Brazil: Editora da UNICAMP, 1999); Ricardo Tadeu Caíres Silva, "Os escravos vão à justiça: A resistência escrava através das ações de liberdade" (master's thesis, Federal University of Bahia, 2000); Elciene Azevedo, *O direito dos escravos: Lutas jurídicas e abolicionismo na província de São Paulo* (Campinas, Brazil: Editora da UNICAMP, 2010). On the abolitionist movement, see Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009), 348–71; Angela Alonso, *Joaquim Nabuco: Os salões e as ruas* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2007), 179–223; Eduardo Silva, *As camélias do Leblon e a abolição de escravatura: Uma investigação de história cultural* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2003); Bergstresser, "Movement for the Abolition." For a rural focus on abolitionism, see Yuko Miki, "Insurgent Geographies: Blacks, Indians, and the Colonization of Nineteenth-Century Brazil" (PhD diss., New York University, 2010), 318–77. On gender, see Roger A. Kittleson, "Women and Notions of Womanhood in Brazilian Abolitionism," in *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World*, ed. Pamela Scully and Diana Paton (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2005), 99–114; Cowling, "Debating Womanhood"; Camillia Cowling, "Matrices of Opportunity: Women of Colour, Gender and the Ending of Slavery in Rio de Janeiro and Havana, 1870–1888" (PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 2006); Ipsen, "Delicate Citizenship," 196–206. For comparative and Atlantic perspectives, see Severino J. Albuquerque, ed., *Joaquim Nabuco e Wisconsin: Centenário da conferência na universidade: Ensaio comemorativo* (Rio de Janeiro: Bem-Te-Vi, 2010); Leslie Bethell and José Murilo de Carvalho, eds., *Joaquim Nabuco e os abolicionistas Britânicos: Correspondência 1880–1905* (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2008); Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, "Empires against Emancipation: Spain, Brazil, and the Abolition of Slavery," *Review: A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center* 31, no. 2 (2008): 101–19; Celso Castilho, "Brisas atlânticas: La abolición gradual y la conexión brasileña-cubana," in *Haití: Revolución y emancipación*, ed. Rina Cáceres and Paul Lovejoy (San José, Costa Rica: Editorial UCR, 2008), 128–38; Laird W. Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007), 150–90; Celia Maria Marinho de Azevedo, *Abolicionismo: Estados Unidos e Brasil, uma história comparada (século XIX)* (1995; São Paulo: Annablume Editora, 2003).

the mobilization of public opinion.¹⁵ The proliferation of abolitionist, republican, and positivist clubs in late nineteenth-century Brazil provides an intriguing vantage point from which to analyze both a surge in associative activity and the roles of middling and plebeian sectors within the two seminal political turning points of the era: the abolition of slavery in 1888 and the proclamation of the republic in 1889. The breadth of associational activity in nineteenth-century Brazil still requires deeper and comparative analysis; these practices of civic life proliferated across the hemisphere, and in the Brazilian case they may arguably reveal more about the dynamics of political participation than is otherwise assumed because of the state's monarchical structure.¹⁶ In Recife, the rise of abolitionist associations generated a particular form of political participation that was consequential within the local processes of slave emancipation, as both provincial and municipal governments responded with legislation intended to appease and quell abolitionist pressure.¹⁷ Preceded by a string of earlier nineteenth-century popular conflagrations, the abolitionist movement also provides a late nineteenth-century reference for considering the history of state formation in Pernambuco.¹⁸

Performance was a conspicuous feature of abolitionist mobilization, a form of expressive politics that invented ideas of nation, race, and citizenship. A site

15. Sabato, "On Political Citizenship," 1315; José Murilo de Carvalho, "Cidadania: Tipos e Percursos," *Estudos Históricos* 9, no. 18 (1996): 340–42. For a more recent treatment of this theme, see Pablo Piccato, "Public Sphere in Latin America: A Map of the Historiography," *Social History* 35, no. 2 (2010): 165–92.

16. Cláudia Maria Ribeiro Viscardi, "Experiências da prática associativa no Brasil (1860–1880)," *Topoi* (Rio de Janeiro) 9, no. 16 (2008): 117–36; Maria Tereza Chaves de Mello, *A república consentida: Cultura democrática e científica do final do Império* (Rio de Janeiro: ANPUH, 2007); Kittleson, *Practice of Politics*, 118–83. The most detailed comparative study of associations remains Carlos A. Forment, *Democracy in Latin America, 1760–1900*, vol. 1, *Civic Selfhood and Public Life in Mexico and Peru* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2003).

17. A recent case study of emancipation in neighboring Olinda is Robson Costa, *Vozes na senzala: Cotidiano e resistência nas últimas décadas da escravidão, Olinda, 1871–1888* (Recife, Brazil: Editora UFPE, 2008); see also Beatriz de Miranda Brusantin, "Capitães e Mateus: Relações sociais e as culturas festivas e de luta dos trabalhadores dos engenhos da mata norte de Pernambuco (comarca de Nazareth, 1870–1888)" (PhD diss., Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2011), 245–350. An important earlier assessment of abolition in Pernambuco is Peter L. Eisenberg, *The Sugar Industry in Pernambuco: Modernization without Change, 1840–1910* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1974), 146–79.

18. Marcus Carvalho, "Movimentos sociais: Pernambuco, 1831–1848," in *O Brasil Imperial*, ed. Keila Grinberg and Ricardo Salles, vol. 2, 1831–1870 (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2009), 121–83; Reis and Kraay, "'Tyrant is Dead,'" 410–12; Mosher, *Political Struggle*, 41–90, 185–248.

of struggle over power, abolitionist performances communicated and facilitated social change.¹⁹ Abolitionist theater, for example, presented the idea of emancipation as an embodiment of a new national ideal, as earlier manifestations of nationality centered on Indianist symbols and tropes.²⁰ In Colombia and Cuba as well, the making of antislavery into a national ideal proved consequential to fostering broad participation.²¹ Yet abolitionist performances, especially

19. On performance studies in Latin America, see Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2003), 2–21. Recent analyses of nineteenth-century race and nation in Latin America through performance include E. Gabrielle Kuenzli, “Acting Inca: The Parameters of National Belonging in Early Twentieth-Century Bolivia,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (2010): 247–81; William H. Beezley, *Mexican National Identity: Memory, Innuendo, and Popular Culture* (Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press, 2008), 98–145; George Reid Andrews, “Remembering Africa, Inventing Uruguay: Sociedades de Negros in the Montevideo Carnival, 1865–1930,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 87, no. 4 (2007): 693–726; Linda Lewin, “A Tale of Two Texts: Orality, Oral History, and Poetic Insult in the *Desafío* of Romano and Inacio in Patos (1874),” *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 26 (2007): 1–25; Jill Lane, *Blackface Cuba, 1840–1895* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 60–103; Elías J. Palti, “La Sociedad Filarmónica del Pito: Ópera, prensa y política en la república restaurada (México, 1867–1876),” *Historia Mexicana* 52, no. 4 (2003): 941–78; Kristen McCleary, “Popular, Elite, and Mass Culture? The Spanish Zarzuela in Buenos Aires, 1890–1900,” *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 21 (2002): 1–27. On theater and society in nineteenth-century Brazil, see Marzano, *Cidade em cena*; Silvia Cristina Martins de Souza, *As noites do Ginásio: Teatro e tensões culturais na Corte (1832–1868)* (Campinas, Brazil: Editora da UNICAMP, 2002); Fernando Antonio Mencarelli, *Cena aberta: A absolvição de um bilontra e o teatro de revista de Arthur Azevedo* (Campinas, Brazil: Editora da UNICAMP, 1999); Moacyr Flores, *O negro na dramaturgia brasileira, 1838–1888* (Porto Alegre, Brazil: EDIPUCRS, 1995).

20. Peter M. Beattie, “Illustrating Race and Nation in the Paraguayan War Era: Exploring the Decline of the Tupi Guarani Warrior as the Embodiment of Brazil,” in *Military Struggle and Identity Formation in Latin America: Race, Nation, and Community during the Liberal Period*, ed. Nicola Foote and René D. Harder Horst (Gainesville: Univ. Press of Florida, 2010), 175–203; Antônio Cândido, *O romantismo no Brasil* (São Paulo: Humanitas, 2002), 20–73; David Treece, *Exiles, Allies, Rebels: Brazil’s Indianist Movement, Indigenist Politics, and the Imperial Nation-State* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 79–145.

21. Barbara Weinstein elaborated upon the interconnection of framing antislavery in national terms and the respective possibilities for broad mobilization. Barbara Weinstein, “Slavery, Citizenship, and National Identity in Brazil and the U.S. South,” in *Nationalism in the New World*, ed. Don H. Doyle and Marco Antonio Pamplona (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 2006), 248–71. For Colombia, see Marixa Lasso, *Myths of Harmony: Race and Republicanism during the Age of Revolution, Colombia 1795–1831* (Pittsburgh, PA: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 34–67; James E. Sanders, *Contentious Republicans: Popular Politics, Race, and Class in Nineteenth-Century Colombia* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2004), 45–63. On Cuba, see Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868–1898* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1999), 1–42.

within carnival, also produced narratives about citizenship, progress, and racial hierarchies that rendered Africanness and, to a large extent, freed people outside the evolving political community.²² Performances thus emerged as spaces where national and racialized identities were constructed. An analytical focus on performance opens avenues for considering how “fantasy becomes a staging ground for social change,” as the different performances impelled a growing public to collectively envision the erosion of the slave system.²³ In this way, the popular imagination emerged as an important site where alternate social realities were posited and rehearsed.²⁴

“To the Theater, For the Slaves!”

Dramatically, the commotion surrounding Senespleda in the middle months of 1881 climaxed during an intermission, as the soprano (and the participating public) “generously” bestowed freedom upon 16-year-old Maria Rosalina, a mulatta slave. Before a capacity audience of some 900 spectators at Recife’s Santa Isabel Theater, Senespleda’s stunning performance culminated a running showdown with the troupe director—and by extension, local authorities—over her involvement in antislavery concerts.²⁵ Although the lyrical company’s contract stipulated that the receipts from two performances would be earmarked for manumitting slaves, it became evident that Senespleda was not to have a role in the performances.²⁶ Her insistence, however, to participate in the antislavery

22. On race and citizenship, see Sidney Chalhou, “Illegal Enslavement and the Precariousness of Freedom in Nineteenth-Century Brazil,” in *Assumed Identities: The Meanings of Race in the Atlantic World*, ed. John D. Garrigus and Christopher Morris (College Station: Texas A&M Univ. Press, 2010), 88–115; Mattos, “Raça e cidadania”; Mara Loveman, “The Race to Progress: Census Taking and Nation Making in Brazil (1870–1920),” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (2009): 435–70; Ana Lugão Rios and Hebe Mattos, *Memórias do cativo: Família, trabalho e cidadania no pós-abolição* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2005), 13–34; Grinberg, *O fiador dos Brasileiros*; Ivana Stolze Lima, *Cores, marcas e falas: Sentidos da mestiçagem no Império do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 2003), 133–92; Judy Bieber Freitas, “Slavery and Social Life: Attempts to Reduce Free People to Slavery in the Sertão Mineiro, Brazil, 1850–1871,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 26, no. 3 (1994): 597–619.

23. Lane, *Blackface Cuba*, 226.

24. *Ibid.*, 63; Kuenzli, “Acting Inca,” 259; Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1996), 5–14.

25. On the Santa Isabel Theater’s history and capacity (983), see Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, *Theatro Santa Isabel* (Recife), 18 May 1894, p. 4.

26. *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 17 May 1881, p. 5.

events ignited the firestorm, and the public nature of the confrontations ratcheted up the suspense.

Learning that Senespleda was prohibited from singing during the first anti-slavery concert, “abolitionists,” as they were referred to in a pamphlet calling for a rally, occupied the main square in front of the theater to confront the director prior to the show.²⁷ Because the square bordered the palace of the provincial president, this was not a gathering that went unnoticed. While Senespleda did not sing, she emerged during the intermission and accepted two bouquets from representatives of abolitionist societies.²⁸ In the ensuing days, moreover, the singer fanned the controversy. First, she published an open letter in the *Jornal do Recife* to announce a donation to an abolitionist society, and then she asserted that she would hold her own benefit concert.²⁹

Senespleda’s popularity soared, and the anticipation surrounding her benefit concert was unprecedented in Recife. Advertisement notices for “Senespleda Ribbons,” described as “made of silk, having a diagonal design, and being the latest novelty,” appeared in the back pages of the *Diário de Pernambuco*.³⁰ In the days leading up to her concert, both major dailies featured complaints from theatergoers who protested that “clever entrepreneurs” had purchased an abundance of advance seats and were scalping tickets at 50 to 75 percent above original prices.³¹

Nevertheless, Senespleda’s concert was a spectacular success. She arrived at the theater in grand fashion, leading a 13-carriage procession. Awaiting her in the atrium were dozens of Senespledistas, who greeted guests with copies of a one-time newspaper devoted to the event.³² A manumission ceremony was planned for the first interval. Senespleda defied the director’s prohibition and electrified the audience as she retook the stage to sing part of Giacomo Meyerbeer’s *Dinorah*, the opera she intended to perform weeks earlier at the first concert. Upon finishing, she walked toward João Ramos, secretary of an abolitionist society, who stood alongside the young Maria Rosalina.³³ In exhilarating fash-

27. “Causa Abolicionista,” 24 May 1881, Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano (hereafter IAHG), Coleção Abolicionista.

28. *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 27 May 1881, p. 2; *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 27 May 1881, p. 4.

29. *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 27 May 1881, p. 4.

30. *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 24 May 1881, p. 5.

31. *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 25 May 1881, p. 3; *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 24 May 1881, p. 3.

32. *A Lyra* (Recife), 12 July 1881.

33. *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 14 July 1881, p. 1; *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 14 July 1881, p. 8.

ion, Senespleda handed Maria Rosalina her letter of manumission, embracing and kissing the young woman. It bears noting, even if the newspaper article on the event did not, that Maria Rosalina or a family member very likely contributed their own money toward the manumission, as did scores of other slaves who similarly gained freedom through the intervention of abolitionist societies in 1880s Recife.³⁴

Despite the jubilant scene at the Santa Isabel Theater, proslavery sectors remained thoroughly invested and influential in provincial politics through the late 1880s. In 1886, for example, abolitionist theater was banned in Pernambuco, reflecting not only a nationwide antiabolitionist political reaction but also the local importance of the practice of abolitionist theater itself, as this was taken seriously enough so as to be shut down. To be sure, Senespleda's actions had infuriated many beyond her troupe director. One published commentary lashed out in explicitly gendered and sexualized language, referring to her as a "seductress . . . an example of a libertine," while, of course, ignoring the issue of emancipation itself.³⁵ In less misogynistic terms, a provincial deputy (and local slave trader) grumbled during a legislative session about Senespleda's "imprudent involvement with abolitionist activities."³⁶

Thus the shared enthusiasm of the concert needs to be understood within a local context where the legitimacy and everyday normality of slavery remained intact. Into the 1880s, in fact, the slave population of Pernambuco remained the fifth largest nationally; moreover, a sizeable proportion of the enslaved—approximately 75 percent—remained concentrated in the sugar belt, connected to the influential planters.³⁷ To give one illustration of this, immediately below the previously mentioned advertisement for "Senespleda Ribbons"

34. On slaves' contribution to manumission pursuits, see Celso Castilho and Camillia Cowling, "Funding Freedom, Popularizing Politics: Abolitionism and Local Emancipation Funds in 1880s Brazil," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 47, no. 1 (2010): 108.

35. *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 14 June 1881, p. 2. For a similar rhetorical strategy of sexualizing women's political voices in 1960s Brazil, see Victoria Langland, "Birth Control Pills and Molotov Cocktails: Reading Sex and Revolution in 1968 Brazil," in *In from the Cold: Latin America's New Encounter with the Cold War*, ed. Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniela Spenser (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2008), 310, 323.

36. Baron of Nazaré (Silvino Guilherme de Barros), 25 Apr. 1881, in *Annaes da Assembleia Provincial de Pernambuco: Sessão de 1881*, vol. 1 (Recife: Typographia de M. Figueroa de Faria & Filhos, 1881), 250.

37. *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 7 Aug. 1884, p. 1; Robert W. Slenes, "The Brazilian Internal Slave Trade, 1850–1888: Regional Economies, Slave Experience, and the Politics of a Peculiar Market," in *The Chattel Principle: Internal Slave Trades in the Americas*, ed. Walter Johnson (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 2004), 325–38.

appeared another advertisement for the sale of “a black woman, age twenty, free of vices, who washes and presses, cooks and shops.”³⁸ In the 1880s, slaves still represented nearly 10 percent of Recife’s population.

The Senespledist wave thus emerged amid a context where the political establishment remained unwilling to confront the problem of emancipation and the prevailing norms for practicing politics did not include the theater or carnival as sites to debate antislavery, national identity, and citizenship. Abolitionist activism was entwined with changes in local political culture, which acquired new overtones in 1881, the year of Senespleda’s visit, when a new electoral law restricted and concentrated the means of formal political participation among well-off male Brazilians. The law introduced a direct-voting system for the Chamber of Deputies, the lower house of parliament, and, along with an onerous registration process, it instituted a literacy requirement for voting. “The electoral law of 1881,” Richard Graham writes, “reduced the number of those who voted from over 1,000,000 to some 150,000, yet curiously—and symptomatically—this law has often been misinterpreted, then and later, as a democratic measure.”³⁹ In Recife, the “modernizing reform” received effusive praise. It was touted as “among the three most important laws in Brazilian history, assuming a place alongside the monumental legislation of 1834 [the Additional Act] and the law of 1871 [the Free Womb Law].”⁴⁰ Though few, some were outspoken and critical of the law’s exclusionary implications. The Rio de Janeiro Afro-Brazilian journalist Apulco de Castro wrote, “by the laws in effect today, [the electoral reform] has taken the people out of the legal landscape, and tossed them onto the open field of revolution.”⁴¹ Yet masculinized notions of voting were also reaffirmed in the aftermath of the electoral reform. In Recife, one man remarked, “Can we grant the right to vote [to women], that task which requires virgins, wives, mothers, and widows to leave the home and deposit a

38. *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 24 May 1881, p. 5.

39. Graham, *Patronage and Politics*, 184; Carvalho, *Cidadania no Brasil*, 32–35; Needell, “Brazilian Abolitionism,” 242.

40. *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 8 Jan. 1881, p. 2. A new study of the local repercussions of this law is Felipe Azevedo e Souza, “A Lei Saraiva e a eleição de 1881 em Pernambuco” (bachelor’s thesis, Federal University of Pernambuco, 2009).

41. *O Corsário* (Rio de Janeiro), 5 July 1881, p. 1, quoted in Thomas Holloway, “‘The People are Neither Children nor Idiots’: Popular Response to the 1881 Electoral Reform in Rio de Janeiro” (paper presented at the Rocky Mountain Council for Latin American Studies 56th Annual Conference, Santa Fe, NM, 6 Mar. 2009), 5. The paper can be accessed at http://www.academia.edu/200674/_The_People_are_neither_Children_nor_Idiots_Popular_Response_to_the_1881_Electoral_Reform_in_Rio_de_Janeiro.

ballot in polling stations—where corruption reigns, where men are active in mercenary gangs. . . . let us not make martyrs of women!!!”⁴² Printed just a month prior to Senespleda’s arrival in Recife, the statement helps contextualize the extant gendered codes of political behavior.

The Senespledistas’ influence on the local movement emanated from a law school in Recife, one of only two in imperial Brazil.⁴³ In fact, 10 of the 14 abolitionist societies created between 1880 and 1883 were connected to the law school.⁴⁴ The Senespledistas unified in opposition to the shortcomings of the 1871 Free Womb Law, which after ten years had freed less than 1 percent of Brazil’s slave population.⁴⁵ As of 1882, over 1,000,000 people remained in captivity. Furthermore, the notion that the 1871 law freed all children born of slave mothers was not immediately reflected in social reality. Sidney Chalhoub has shown that the vast majority of slave owners opted to profit from the labor of the *ingênuos* (freed children) until they turned 21 instead of taking the option of freeing them under the new law and receiving compensation once they turned 8.⁴⁶ The Club Abolicionista do Recife, the first of the law student groups formed in the 1880s, protested the 1871 law by organizing a private emancipation fund and sponsoring a manumission ceremony on the anniversary of the Recife Law School, August 11. The event centered on a theatrical performance and also featured poetry recitals by popular actresses.⁴⁷ The Club Abolicionista’s activism also galvanized students from other northern provinces who studied in Recife to organize abolitionist societies. Associations formed comprised of students from Maranhão, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, and Pará. These groups thus

42. *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 9 Apr. 1881, p. 2.

43. On antislavery activism at the law schools in Recife and São Paulo, see Andrew J. Kirkendall, *Class Mates: Male Student Culture and the Making of a Political Class in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2002), 119–46. On the Recife Law School in the late empire, see Craig Hendricks and Robert M. Levine, “Pernambuco’s Political Elite and the Recife Law School,” *The Americas* 37, no. 3 (1981): 304–13.

44. In Rio, by contrast, government employees and printers comprised the largest bloc of early abolitionist groups. Bergstresser, “Movement for the Abolition,” 53–61.

45. Evaristo de Moraes, *A campanha abolicionista (1879–1888)* (Rio de Janeiro: Leite Ribeiro, Freitas Bastos, Spicer and cia., 1924), 24. This characterization of the law’s ineffectiveness pertains specifically to the results of the national emancipation fund and does not suggest that slaves (and their legal representatives) were not able to use this law to gain leverage or even their freedom outright.

46. Sidney Chalhoub, *Machado de Assis, historiador* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2003), 171–82, 266–69.

47. *A Democracia* (Recife), 13 Aug. 1880, p. 3. I thank Felipe Azevedo e Souza for this reference.

became simultaneously involved in forging local and regional networks of abolitionists, and in some cases they had connections to mobilizations in the national capital.⁴⁸

Insights into gendered facets of student life help explain why and how the theater became an important space for abolitionism. Roger Kittleson and Camillia Cowling have suggested that abolitionist practices built upon, and sometimes modified, established notions of proper masculine and feminine public political behavior.⁴⁹ For law students in nineteenth-century Brazil, the theater was an essential cultural activity, a mode of performing masculinity. "Theater was particularly important," Andrew Kirkendall writes, "because it gave future public men an opportunity to present themselves to an audience primarily of their peers."⁵⁰ Relatedly, writing about politics and pursuing actresses represented forms of "staking a claim to status as an adult male."⁵¹ One enraptured Senespleadista, the famed intellectual Tobias Barreto de Menezes, wrote of Senespleda's disarming effect—"to see her, explains it; to hear her, justifies the enthusiasm she awakens"—underlining the seductive force necessarily ascribed to female celebrities.⁵²

In other instances, interestingly, students' performative masculinity and abolitionist activism converged on the stage itself, as seen in José Cavalcanti Ribeiro da Silva's *Córa, a filha de Agar* (1884), an abolitionist play in which law students played a leading role in harboring a runaway slave.⁵³ Building on the plot of the 1875 novel *A escrava Isaura* and also featuring the "almost white" slave as a protagonist, this play not only casts the students as the voices of enlightened abolitionism, but it also presents the playwright's native Pernambuco as the refuge from slavery, in contrast to the interior of Pará, where the young Cora was rescued from. Inspired by "the abolitionist energy that radiates in my home province [of Pernambuco]," the play appeared at a crucial turning point for the

48. News of the Club Abolicionista also circulated in the national capital. See *O Abolicionista* (Rio de Janeiro), 1 Nov. 1880, p. 8.

49. Kittleson, "Women and Notions of Womanhood," 101, 114; Cowling, "Debating Womanhood," 284–301.

50. Kirkendall, *Class Mates*, 42.

51. *Ibid.*, 58, 83.

52. *A Lyra* (Recife), 12 June 1881, p. 2. On the interplay between nineteenth-century celebrity culture, gender, and sexuality, see Amy Katherine D. Lippert, "Consuming Identities: Visual Culture and Celebrity in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2009), 400–413.

53. José Cavalcanti Ribeiro da Silva, *Córa, a filha de Agar: Drama abolicionista em 4 actos* (Recife, Brazil: Editora Fábrica Apollo, 1884). For reviews, see *O Tempo* (Recife), 23 Sept. 1884, p. 2.

abolitionist movement in 1884, and in striving to further the campaign it simultaneously produced heroes and villains who conformed to an idealized narrative of the movement.⁵⁴ In multiple senses, then, the stage served to normalize law students' public political initiatives and to present them as the vanguard of abolitionism.

Before proceeding to a deeper analysis of abolitionist theater, a brief parenthesis is needed to address questions related to the conceptualization of such performances and their wider impact. Between 1880 and 1886, at least 30 abolitionist performances occurred at the Santa Isabel Theater, defined here as including dramas that were explicitly against slavery, such as presentations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, or those such as Senespleda's benefit concert, where the event was unambiguously connected to abolitionist mobilization. These performances, unlike the slave narrative genre in the United States, for example, did not aim to illuminate aspects of slave life; this was unnecessary since enslaved people and different facets of the institution of slavery pervaded everyday life in Recife. The performances were therefore more about generating a common, collective, and emotive means for people to imagine and participate in the making of a new social reality: the abolition of slavery. As Lynn Hunt's study on the history of human rights suggests, an "inner emotional reference point" was needed to anchor abstract ideas of legal and political equality.⁵⁵ The theater thus became a site where the wider process of advocating for slaves' full legal rights gained momentum, though it should not be assumed that abolitionist pieces had immediate transformative effects on all those in attendance. It would not be uncommon, for instance, if some returned home from the Senespleda concert in carriages driven by slaves or to homes worked by slave domestics.

Nor was abolitionist theater exclusive to patrons from the upper echelons of society. While none of the over 30 articles and advertisements on abolitionist theater mentioned either urban domestics or agricultural laborers, enslaved or free, attending the performances, the production of such performances generated related activities that affected a wider range of people than those in the audience. The shows required tramway conductors to operate the extra evening shifts and vendors to work in and around the theater; they—and, of course, their families—were among those who would have been familiar with this emergent mobilization. Slaves, too, were cognizant of the manumission ceremonies represented in the shows. It must also be emphasized that the theater, as a

54. Ribeiro da Silva, *Córa, a filha de Agar*, 2.

55. Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2007),

place of leisure for middling and elite groups, drew people with different political perspectives. In a rare instance when the *Diário de Pernambuco* summarized the gate receipts for an abolitionist performance, it showed that over two-thirds of the revenue for an 1884 show came from the lowest-priced sections.⁵⁶ Some of the elite in attendance that day may have chosen to purchase the cheapest tickets, or the revenue distribution may suggest that people from more modest backgrounds were present.

The spate of abolitionist activities occurring at the theater established the stage as a space for fashioning the movement's identity, which was key to consolidating collective action. Abolitionist performances were especially vital for commemorating dates of national and local importance to the movement, and these commemorations simultaneously highlighted the key role of the theater community within abolitionist organizing in Recife. In September 1883, the Sociedade Dramática Nova Thalia, an abolitionist society comprised of amateur thespians in Recife, celebrated its second-year anniversary with a performance of Thomas Espiuca's *A atriz escrava*.⁵⁷ While the script for this play, as with the vast majority of scripts for the abolitionist dramas staged in the 1880s, has not survived, the Portuguese playwright was known to have been deeply ensconced in the social matters of his day. In 1867, Espiuca wrote a satirical play about honor and recruitment for the Paraguayan War, and in 1889, his piece *O clube de cupim e a lei 13 de maio* was performed on the first anniversary of abolition.⁵⁸ The 1889 play immortalized the radical Club Cupim, the abolitionist society of which Espiuca was a founding member and that between 1884 and 1888 helped upward of 3,000 enslaved people escape to the "free lands" of Ceará.⁵⁹ Considering the ephemeral nature of the era's associational groups, Espiuca's involvement with the Sociedade Dramática's two-year existence was notable. Significantly, the celebration of the Sociedade Dramática's anniversary and, as would happen several weeks later, the commemoration of other regional and national events were still occurring amid a local context where the abolitionist move-

56. *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 3 July 1884, p. 3.

57. *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 6 Sept. 1883, p. 2.

58. Thomas Espiuca, *Os voluntários da honra: Comedia drama em dous actos* (Recife, Brazil: C. E. Mulhert, 1870). This play debuted on March 25, 1867. Thomas Espiuca, *Club de cupim e a lei de 13 de maio: Drama em 4 actos* (Recife, Brazil: Typographia do Commercio, 1889).

59. For an estimate on the number of fugitive slaves who fled to Ceará, see *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 27 May 1888, p. 2. This province north of Pernambuco abolished slavery on March 25, 1884, four years prior to the national law. The classic study on Ceará is Raimundo Girão, *A abolição no Ceará* (Fortaleza, Brazil: Editora A. Batista Fentenele, 1956).

ment had yet to register any tangible results from the local government. Thus, it fell upon performances to invigorate local imaginings of abolitionist achievements, such as the staging of José de Lima Penante's *A libertadora cearense*, which "retold the story of the abolitionist movement in Ceará, concentrating on those that refused to load the slaves onto ships that were going to transport them to the south to be sold."⁶⁰ Penante's play was again featured in late 1883, as locals received the encouraging news that yet another municipality in northern Brazil (Mossoró, Rio Grande do Norte) had abolished slavery. At the performance, the law students from Rio Grande do Norte distributed a special edition newspaper titled *Trinta de Setembro*.⁶¹ Such performances, in short, not only registered the movement's history and therefore its identity but also served to connect local activism with various developments within regional abolitionism.

Abolitionist performances constructed the idea that antislavery principles had long been ingrained in the national imaginary. Such notions were key to framing slavery as a common and collective problem rather than as an issue of import only to slave owners, who, in preferring the latter formulation, sought control of the emancipation process. On July 2, 1880, for example, a group of law students from Bahia organized a production of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to coincide with the date when Brazilian independence was commemorated in Bahia.⁶² In choosing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the students drew on a recognizable Atlantic antislavery symbol to mark a day associated with the beginnings of the nation, if from a northeastern perspective.⁶³ Interestingly, as abolitionist mobilization intensified over the 1880s, some older dramas were appropriated as abolitionist

60. *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 16 Sept. 1883, p. 1.

61. *Trinta de Setembro* (Recife), 30 Sept. 1883.

62. *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 5 July 1880, p. 2. For analysis of the regional/national dynamic in Bahian independence-day festivities, see Hendrik Kraay, "Between Brazil and Bahia: Celebrating Dois de Julho in Nineteenth-Century Salvador," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 31, no. 2 (1999): 255–86.

63. The novel is referred to as an Atlantic symbol because of its repercussions and adaptations in a variety of contexts. Presentations of the play appeared entwined with the debates over the slave trade in Spain, American colonization schemes in the Caribbean, discussions about national identity in Britain, and antislavery struggles in Peru. For *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Madrid, see Lisa Surwillo, "Representing the Slave Trader: Haley and the Slave Ship; or, Spain's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," *PMLA* 120, no. 3 (2005): 768–82; in Haiti, see Anna Brickhouse, *Transamerican Literary Relations and the Nineteenth-Century Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), 221–41; in England, see Sarah Meer, *Uncle Tom Mania: Slavery, Minstrelsy, and Transatlantic Culture in the 1850s* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 2005), 133–59; for Peru, see Peter Blanchard, *Slavery and Abolition in Early Republican Peru* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1992), 166.

dramas as well; the evolving context gave them new significance. A classic Brazilian work with antislavery themes, José de Alencar's *Mãe* (1860), resurfaced in Recife and Manaus in 1884 and was performed on days of national festivity. Notwithstanding Alencar's opposition to the 1871 Free Womb Law, *Mãe* was presented in Recife on Independence Day, providing another example of the weaving together of a national and antislavery message.⁶⁴

The play that most explicitly and successfully recast the abolitionist struggle as a national struggle was *Gonzaga, ou a revolução de Minas*, a work that returns to the story of the Minas Gerais conspiracy of 1789 and transforms it into a parable about abolition.⁶⁵ Written in 1867 by the famous Antônio de Castro Alves (1847–1871), *Gonzaga* was readily praised by his contemporaries, including the literary giants Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis and José de Alencar. In an open letter published in Rio de Janeiro, Machado de Assis wrote that the conspiracy afforded Alves an opportunity to discuss the “issue of liberty broadly.”⁶⁶ The production gripped Pernambucan audiences in the early 1880s, as different groups, ranging from law students to amateur thespians, staged it at least five times between 1880 and 1885. As with many writers of his generation, Alves used a representation of national history as a means to stir questions and debate about national identity.⁶⁷

In *Gonzaga*, Alves embeds the story of Luiz, a freed slave who has been on

64. It was staged in Manaus on March 25, Constitution Day. *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 16 Apr. 1884, p. 2. It was staged in Recife on September 7. *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 9 Sept. 1884, p. 2. For political behavior on days of festivity, see Hendrik Kraay, “Definindo nação e Estado: Rituais cívicos na Bahia pós-Independência (1823–1850),” *Topoi* (Rio de Janeiro) 3 (2001): 64–90. On Alencar's ambivalence on antislavery, see Chalhoub, *Machado de Assis*, 193; José Martiniano de Alencar, *Cartas a favor da escravidão*, ed. Tâmis Parron (São Paulo: Hedra, 2008), 39–147; Julia C. Paulk, “(Re)Writing Patriarchy and Motherhood in José de Alencar's Allegorical Antislavery Plays, *O demônio familiar* and *Mãe*,” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 42, no. 1 (2005): 61–77. It has also been argued that Alencar's opposition to the 1871 law was tied primarily to constitutional issues. See Needell, *Party of Order*, 262.

65. Antônio de Castro Alves, *Gonzaga, ou, A revolução de Minas: Drama historico Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: A. A. Da Cruz Coutinho, 1875). All references are from Antônio de Castro Alves, *Gonzaga, ou, A Revolução de Minas: Drama em 4 atos* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1972). A recent critical study of the play is Elizabeth Azevedo, introduction to *Castro Alves: Teatro Completo*, by Antônio de Castro Alves (São Paulo: Editora Martins Fontes, 2004), 9–35.

66. Machado de Assis, quoted in Pedro Calmon, *Castro Alves: O homem e a obra* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora José Olympio, 1973), 306–11.

67. For similar processes in Spanish America, see Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2007), 101–32.

a 20-year search for his enslaved daughter Carlota, within the larger plot of the political and economic grievances fueling the conspiracy. Luiz joins the insurrection when he is told that the uprising's success will translate into not only the freeing of Carlota but also their reunion. The poet Gonzaga, the intellectual voice of the conspirators and the namesake of the play, explains that the "Brazilian family will reconstitute itself as in past times . . . [with] no more slaves! No more owners!"⁶⁸ Another conspirator made the equivalence between the oppression of slaves and colonial subjects:

when the slave wants to be free, when the laborer wants to be a landowner, when the subject wants rights, when the mind wants to think, when the heart wants to feel, when the people want to express a will . . . there is a ghostly voice saying: nonsense, one thousand times nonsense! For the slaves, there's the whip; for the worker, a tax; for the subject, the law; for stimulating the mind—silence; the heart—death; and for the people, total darkness. That voice comes from the metropole! It's always the metropole!⁶⁹

The excerpt, in conjunction with the earlier quote about the reconstitution of the Brazilian family without slaves, relies on the metaphor of enslavement to frame the problem of slavery as a collective matter. The notion that in past times the family, or nation, did not have slaves helps present slavery as an aberration, an unnatural condition that could be remedied. Brazil's current situation, then, is a distortion, a break from the true national character.

The reunion between father and daughter ends prematurely, as does the larger conspiracy. Nonetheless, in a bold repositing of historical events, Alves makes Carlota, a slave, the first martyr of the nation. An enslaved woman, then, emerges as the symbol of the "self-sacrificing love" inspired by nationalism, and her death binds abolition irrevocably to the aspirations and fulfillment of the nation.⁷⁰ Upon learning of his daughter's death, a grief-stricken Luiz delivers an impassioned reflection that identifies slaves as part of the nation's fabric: "And we are also Brazilians, and we are also revolutionaries, and also martyrs! Carlota—to the banquet of death! Because the blood of those enslaved by men is the same as that of a people's enslaved by other people . . . both will seek

68. Alves, *Gonzaga*, 15.

69. *Ibid.*, 8.

70. On the interplay between death, martyrdom, and nationalism, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (1983; New York: Verso, 1991), 141.

redemption in the future.”⁷¹ Luiz’s words powerfully convey and summarize a critical discursive construction set in motion throughout *Gonzaga*: the ideal of freedom should give shape to an expanding sense of national belonging.

Beyond an initial textual analysis, *Gonzaga* merits close consideration because its productions in 1880s Recife carried significant political implications. In the mid-1880s, a polarizing parliamentary and public debate raged over the proposal of a bill to free slaves over 60 years of age without indemnification. The proposal marked the high point of parliamentary abolitionism.⁷² After 18 intense months of debate, however, and two cabinet switches, the spirit of the bill was hijacked and the resulting 1885 Sexagenarian Law was loaded with harsh, reactionary provisions, including the punishment of those who abetted runaway slaves. An English-language newspaper in Rio de Janeiro pessimistically assessed the law’s prospects for spurring further abolitionist reforms: “When we see a genuine abolition measure originating from [Prime Minister] Barão de Cotegipe, we shall then believe that a good omelet can be expected from bad eggs.”⁷³ Ultimately, the political shifts occurring at the national level were also refracted locally. The Conservative prime minister appointed provincial presidents willing to halt abolitionist momentum, and the prohibition of abolitionist performances was among the consequences of this political swing. Cotegipe’s proslavery agenda held sway over the political terrain until the eve of the abolition law.⁷⁴

Tellingly, the productions of *Gonzaga* gained the most visibility amid the volatility of the mid-1880s. An advertisement appearing in the *Diário de Pernambuco* just one week after the passage of the 1885 Sexagenarian Law elucidated the play’s political dimensions particularly well: “today, when the Brazilian people are concerned with the great problem [of slavery] . . . we find it necessary to present to society an epic about the ‘Revolution of Minas,’ a story that carries significance politically and socially.”⁷⁵ The fifth staging of the play in five years and the third in the last 18 months, it was clear that *Gonzaga* had

71. Alves, *Gonzaga*, 120.

72. Needell, “Brazilian Abolitionism,” 238–45. Also on the 1885 law, see Mendonça, *Entre a mão e os anéis*; Ricardo Tadeu Caíres Silva, “Memórias do tráfico ilegal de escravos nas ações de liberdade: Bahia, 1885–1888,” *Afro-Ásia* 35 (2007): 37–82; Robert Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850–1888* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1972), 210–29.

73. *Rio News* (Rio de Janeiro), 5 Feb. 1886, quoted in Conrad, *Destruction of Brazilian Slavery*, 233.

74. Needell, “Brazilian Abolitionism,” 249–56.

75. *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 1 Oct. 1885, p. 3.

gained a particular prominence within abolitionist activism in Recife. It was not for a lack of alternatives that this form of politics, and this play in particular, emerged as the response to the new legislation.

The preceding analysis of abolitionist theater in Recife reveals the theater's broad importance within the construction of the local antislavery movement and as a form of politics. It stood at the intersection of associational activism, the construction of a collective identity, and expanding conceptions of emancipation as a national problem. Abolitionist theater was also an intrinsic part of several other local mobilizations elsewhere and therefore a dynamic of national importance. It was a prevalent phenomenon in the national capital, and this was known in Recife, among other places. In 1879, for example, the Companhia Guilherme da Silveira enjoyed "immense success" with performances of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Rio de Janeiro. The Companhia's acclaimed productions reached Recife the following year, with an advertisement in the *Diário de Pernambuco* boasting that it had appeared in the national capital "over one-hundred times."⁷⁶ Similarly, an advertisement from 1884 for *A filha da escrava*, written by the Afro-Brazilian playwright Arthur Rocha, mapped the national trajectory of another dramatic company performing abolitionist theater. Prior to reaching Recife to perform the play, the Julieta dos Santos Dramatic Company traversed the country from south to north, beginning with performances in Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Bahia. From Recife, the company would continue to Maranhão.⁷⁷ Indeed, the abolitionist theater in Porto Alegre, the capital city of Rio Grande do Sul where the troupe began its tour, was noted by 1883 as a "vigorous form of propaganda."⁷⁸ In Fortaleza, the capital city of Ceará, where slavery was abolished in March 1884, abolitionist theater was also connected to the symbolic consolidation of the antislavery movement.⁷⁹ And

76. *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 13 May 1880, p. 3. On the play's success in 1879 Rio, see Raimundo Magalhães Jr., *A vida turbulenta de José do Patrocínio* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Sabiá, 1969), 78. For more on abolitionist theater in Rio, see Silva, "Resistência negra"; Alonso, "Theatricalization of Politics."

77. *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 19 Apr. 1884, p. 5. On Rocha's background and career, see Isabel Silveira dos Santos, "Arthur Rocha: Um intelectual Negro no 'Mundo dos Brancos'" (paper presented at the X Encontro Estadual de História, Universidade Federal de Santa Maria, Santa Maria, Brazil, 26–30 July 2010); Eneidy Rodrigues Till, *Tres vultos marcados: Lobo da Costa, Artur R. Rocha, Fontoura Xavier: Fatos ignorados em suas biografias* (Porto Alegre, Brazil: Edições Flama, 1970), 19–29.

78. Athos Damasceno, *Palco, Salão e Picadeiro em Porto Alegre no século XIX: Contribuição para o estudo do processo cultural do Rio Grande do Sul* (Porto Alegre, Brazil: Editôra Globo, 1956), 200, 202–7; Flores, *Negro na dramaturgia brasileira*, 57–88.

79. Girão, *A abolição no Ceará*, 171.

the celebrations of a “free Ceará” in Ouro Preto, Minas Gerais, included dramatic representations.⁸⁰ In short, it is plausible to consider abolitionist theater as an important thread within the vast mobilization that occurred across Brazil, even if historians and critics have previously downplayed the connections between theater and social mobilization.⁸¹ To be sure, not all theatrical events unfolded amid the trappings and splendor of Senespleda’s benefit concert, with the protagonists arriving in front of a 13-carriage procession. In fact, the heading of one advertisement—“To the theater, for the slaves!”—called for a repeat performance of a piece because the first showing failed to break even.⁸² The disappointing circumstances of that specific production notwithstanding, the rallying cry of “to the theater” was evidently heard across Brazil.

“Viva Carnival, Viva the Freedom of the Enslaved!”

In May 1884, a sugar planter, indignant over the “chaotic” and “reckless” behavior of abolitionists who celebrated the news of the abolition of slavery in nearby Ceará, referred to the public outpouring as an example of “carnavalesque abolitionism.”⁸³ A throng of denizens exceeding 2,000 people converged on the same square where three years earlier Senespledistas had confronted the hostile troupe director.⁸⁴ The display on March 25 was the largest abolitionist event yet in Recife, to be surpassed only by the euphoria that accompanied the news of final abolition on May 13, 1888. The appropriation of city streets signaled another aspect of the abolitionist repertoire, an evolving practice rooted in the manifestations of abolitionism in carnival since the early 1880s. Within 15 days of the March 25 festivities, Recife’s municipal council followed what the provincial government had undertaken a year earlier in 1883 and enacted its own official emancipation fund. Clearly it was no longer able to dismiss shifts in local politics.

80. Cota, “A liberdade entre o salão e rua,” 260.

81. See Moraes, *A campanha abolicionista*, 346; João Luso, “O theatro e a abolição,” *Mensário do “Jornal do Commercio”* 2, no. 2 (1938): 743–45.

82. *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 8 Aug. 1884, p. 4.

83. *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 18 May 1884, p. 4.

84. For reaction to March 25, 1884, the date of slavery’s abolition in Ceará, in Recife, see Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, *Pernambuco ao Ceará, ó dia 25 de março de 1884: Histórico das festas celebradas em Pernambuco* (Recife, Brazil: Typographia Central, 1884). For further analysis of the March 25 festivities and proslavery reactions, see Celso Castilho, “Agitação abolicionista, transtornos políticos: O Recife na véspera da campanha abolicionista,” in Albuquerque, *Joaquim Nabuco e Wisconsin*, 313–42.

Abolitionist performances in early 1880s carnivals politicized a new space, further stretching the notions of where, when, and by whom politics could be made. The idea of abolition reached wider audiences at these carnivals and still required a participatory role from onlookers, as manumission collections were one integral component of the representations. These actions marked another instance of collective engagement in the problem of slavery and, accordingly, also generated discourses about abolition, “civilization,” and blackness.

In the late nineteenth century in Recife and across Brazil, carnival underwent significant changes in scope and form. Carnival societies formed and special newspaper publications began appearing in the 1880s, another illustration of flourishing associational activity. Carnival clubs focused incessantly on remaking the phenomenon into a more “civilized” occurrence. Newspaper commentaries joined the crusade, imploring the populace to abandon the “water and flour-throwing habits of entrudo” in favor of the more “civilized carnival parade.”⁸⁵

The incorporation of Congo coronation ceremonies, a ritual that had been historically performed by black brotherhoods on the Catholic holiday of the Epiphany (January 6), as part of the carnival festivities in the early 1880s was “associated with the momentum of the abolition movement.”⁸⁶ In 1881, the same year Senespleda rattled the political establishment, an abolitionist society comprised of middling merchants staged a Congo coronation ceremony during carnival. These representations were generally historical allegories of the Portuguese conversion of the Congo kingdom to Christianity, a story linked,

85. On tensions between entrudo and carnival in Recife, see *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 21 Feb. 1881, p. 2; *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 18 July 1882, p. 2. On similar debates and anxieties over carnival and entrudo in Rio de Janeiro, see Maria Clementina Pereira Cunha, *Ecos da folia: Uma história social do carnaval carioca entre 1880 e 1920* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2001), 87–149; Leonardo Affonso de Miranda Pereira, *O carnaval das letras* (Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, 1994), 33–53; Jeffrey D. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Epoque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 48–49.

86. John Charles Chasteen, “The Prehistory of Samba: Carnival Dancing in Rio de Janeiro, 1840–1917,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 1 (1996): 41. Congo coronation ceremonies also formed part of abolitionist organizing in 1880s Minas Gerais. See Cota, “A liberdade entre o salão e a rua,” 273–76. On the black brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary and their ceremonies, see Elizabeth W. Kiddy, *Blacks of the Rosary: Memory and History in Minas Gerais, Brazil* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2005), 139–73; Marcelo Mac Cord, *O Rosário de D. Antônio: Irmandades negras, alianças e conflitos na história social do Recife, 1848–1872* (Recife, Brazil: Editora Universitária da UFPE, 2005), 222–63.

of course, to European expansion in West Central Africa.⁸⁷ The group's enactment of the coronation ceremony enveloped a tantalizing layering of civilizing performances. An abolitionist society of merchants, the embodiment of civilized political and economic values, presented itself through an epochal historical allegory that was fundamental for the triumph of civilization, in a setting—carnival—where the very nature of its form made it a site of contestation between civilized and uncivilized behaviors. The parallel narratives of civilizing the other were on full display, as Christianity saved the Congo kingdoms and abolition saved the Brazilian nation. Those not directly involved in the coronation complemented the performance by soliciting donations, and, according to the group's records, others that did neither were asked to pay for the costumes.⁸⁸

Importantly, members of the abolitionist society did not otherwise make claims to a black racial identity; rather, by performing the African other they reinforced their own political identities as abolitionists and their own racial identity as nonblack. Regardless of their skin color, those who formed part of the group did not present themselves, either on an individual or association level, as black, which thus implies that those participating in the coronation ceremony were playing dual roles as abolitionists and as "Africans." Notably, the abolitionists raised money for slaves without including "them" in the coronation ceremony. Implicitly and explicitly, the coronation performances represented a process that was about abolition while not allowing a place for slaves or freed people to participate in the new imagining of a political community. The divorcing of the African from the body politic fit with earlier and ongoing legal and symbolic exclusions of Africans from the Brazilian nation. Whereas the 1824 constitution stipulated that Brazilian-born freed slaves possessed some voting privileges, it thoroughly denied African-born freed slaves political rights.⁸⁹ Furthermore, the national government's struggles to resolve the emancipation process for liberated Africans at midcentury revealed continuing patterns of exclusion, and changes to the color categories for the 1890 census from *pardo* to *mestiço* similarly worked to erase people's African back-

87. Martha Abreu and Larissa Viana, "Festas religiosas, cultura e política no império do Brasil," in Grinberg and Salles, *O Brasil Imperial*, vol. 3, 239–53; Marina de Mello e Souza, *Reis negros no Brasil escravista: História da festa de coroação de rei Congo* (Belo Horizonte, Brazil: Editora UFMG, 2002).

88. "Atas da Nova Emancipadora," 29 Jan. 1881, IAHGP, Coleção Abolicionista.

89. *Constituição política do Império do Brasil* (Lisbon: Imprensa de João Nunes Esteves, 1826), 4; Grinberg, *O fiador dos Brasileiros*, 97–132. On the denial of Africans' political rights in other arenas, see Chalhoub, "Politics of Silence."

ground, if still clinging to the accepted notion that Brazilians were of mixed background.⁹⁰

The entangled processes of producing abolitionist discourse and marking the African other continued in other performative contexts as well, suggesting that certain characteristics of the coronation episodes were not a total aberration. In the same year of the coronation ceremony, in fact, another carnival association, the Club Beija Flor, or Hummingbird Club, constructed its own Africanisms as it set out to make visible its antislavery efforts. The group presented scenes from *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and according to the newspaper report, the Beija Flor “pretended to be slaves, speaking and singing in the special language of the Africans.”⁹¹ The story did not elaborate further: the gestures and comments of the Beija Flor, as with the reactions of onlookers, remain unknown. Yet it is unlikely that the group’s playful act adhered to conventions of any African language. Their “pretend[ing] to be slaves” was evidently not the first instance when a group involved with abolitionism performed the other. In choosing scenes from *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, however, the reformist, or civilizing, overtones of their actions were clear. This performance, perhaps occurring along the same city streets as the coronation rituals, did not collapse differences between abolitionists and Africans, between the embodiments of progress and civilization and backwardness. On the contrary, such performances reinforced difference, occurring as they did within the spirit of making abolitionism more visible. If invigorating abolitionism constituted good Brazilian behavior, it therefore followed that Brazil’s future was imagined as without slavery and, accordingly, less “African.”

The ambivalent pairings of abolitionism and Africanness evinced in carnival performances were also important themes in the dramatic arena, as myriad plots pivoted on the “problematic” past, or slave origins, of important characters. Families were broken, marriages and relationships were dissolved, and careers were shattered because of revelations about a person or a family’s slave past. The acts of manumission occurring either within the drama or during the intermissions (e.g., Senespleda’s manumission ceremony) ameliorated a legal condition,

90. On liberated Africans, see Beatriz Gallotti Mamigonian, “Conflicts over the Meanings of Freedom: The Liberated Africans’ Struggle for Final Emancipation in Brazil, 1840s–1860s,” in *Paths to Freedom: Manumission in the Atlantic World*, ed. Rosemary Brana-Shute and Randy J. Sparks (Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 2009), 235–64; Enidelce Bertin, “Os meia-cara: Africanos livres em São Paulo no século XIX” (PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 2006). On racial identities and the 1890 census, see Loveman, “Race to Progress,” 447–52.

91. *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 2 Mar. 1881, p. 1.

absolving the person from their slave, or African, past. The manumissions also absolved and freed the audience, standing in for Brazilian society, of its slave past. Presentations of classic dramas, such as the late eighteenth-century play *Paul and Virginia*, or of works produced in conjunction with the movement, such as the previously mentioned *Córa, ou a filha de Agar*, reinforced the theme of absolving people of their past.⁹² The plays noticeably never tracked the lives of slaves beyond the moment of manumission, unable, perhaps, to imagine the freed slave as an autonomous black subject. David Haberly's assessment that Brazilian abolitionism was not only antislavery but also antislave underlined a problematic feature of abolitionist discourse.⁹³ Unlike their framing of the problem of slavery, the abolitionist performances analyzed here did not construe the future of the freed slave as a collective or national problem.

A place to envision and to struggle to define the evolving boundaries of belonging, abolitionist performances in carnival and the theater also shaped the geographies of the antislavery movement. That is, while the theatrical performances recast not only the Santa Isabel Theater but also its surrounding square and streets as sites for abolitionist meetings, the carnival representations were similarly crucial for transforming outdoor spaces into political sites. Interesting new forms of associative sociability developed through such practices, as seen in 1883 with the partnerships forged between the carnival group Club Pedinchão and the Nova Emancipadora, the abolitionist group involved earlier with the coronation ceremony. The Pedinchão, following earlier abolitionist practices, undertook a manumission collection during carnival, promoting their efforts under the headline "Viva Carnival, Viva the Freedom of the Enslaved!"⁹⁴ Though it was not mentioned if the Pedinchão wore abolitionist costumes, their initiatives were handsomely rewarded. They collected a substantial amount (511\$120) during two days of reveling, enough to assist with the manumission of ten slaves.⁹⁵ Customarily, these abolitionist-operated funds allocated money in increments of 50\$000 to slaves who needed this modest but crucial amount to buy their freedom.⁹⁶ The Pedinchão, interestingly, asked the Nova Emancipa-

92. *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 12 July 1883, p. 2; *A Arte Dramática* (Recife), 14 Feb. 1884, p. 4; *A Arte Dramática* (Recife), 28 Apr. 1885, p. 4; *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 20 June 1885, p. 3.

93. David T. Haberly, "Abolitionism in Brazil: Anti-Slavery and Anti-Slave," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 9, no. 2 (1972): 30.

94. *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 2 Feb. 1883, p. 2. For representations of abolition in Rio's carnival, see Pereira, *O carnaval das letras*, 79–80; Bergstresser, "Movement for the Abolition," 120.

95. *Jornal do Recife* (Recife), 9 Feb. 1883, p. 1.

96. Castilho and Cowling, "Funding Freedom," 102–5.

dora to administer their private emancipation fund, an example of the horizontal collaborations taking root among associative groups.

The visibility of both symbols from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the manumission campaigns in carnival resurfaced in 1884, weeks before the thunderous congregation gathered at the main square to cheer the news from Ceará. An 1884 article noted that "young men . . . formed a group called 'Club Uncle Tom,' bought outfits, and ran through different neighborhoods for three days asking for money to buy the freedom of slaves."⁹⁷ More information on these revelers, such as which characters they chose to represent, is lacking. Regardless, their method of publicly seeking donations was already a familiar dimension of the cityscape, as the street public had likely come face-to-face with previous manumission fund campaigns. It is not known how much money they raised or even if they helped free any slaves. Arguably, what mattered most were the cheers and salutations they received, for this suggested a larger public increasingly connected to the abolitionist movement. Within a month of the "Club Uncle Tom" ricocheting through the city streets, thousands took part in the March 25, 1884, ceremonies to commemorate the freeing of Ceará. A week later the municipal government discussed and endorsed a municipal emancipation fund.

By the mid-1880s, the repercussions of abolitionist performances were widely discernible both with respect to the consolidation of the movement and in terms of its influence on local provincial and municipal bodies. In 1883, the president of the Central Emancipadora de Pernambuco, the first federation to organize the abolitionist societies in Recife, was José Cavalcanti Ribeiro da Silva, the author of important abolitionist dramas. That same year, two provincial deputies with ties to abolitionist societies introduced a bill to create an official provincial emancipation fund. The legislative assembly, broaching the issue of slave emancipation for the first time, ultimately approved the fund because it reinforced a lawful and compensation-based framework for abolition. To many, the provincial fund was an antidote to the spreading influence of the "intransigent abolitionism" practiced in Ceará. It was in that province north of Pernambuco where a fulminating municipality-by-municipality campaign had begun in 1881. By December 1883, 28 of the province's 57 municipalities no longer enforced slaveholding.⁹⁸ The rapid process of abolition terrified Pernambucan sugar planters, their fears articulated by a provincial deputy who charged that "under the protection of emancipationist societies, [Ceará] province is harboring fugitive slaves from other provinces, and Pernambuco is among the prov-

97. *Folha do Norte* (Recife), 25 Feb. 1884, p. 2.

98. Osório Duque-Estrada, *A abolição: Esboço histórico, 1831-1888*, with an introduction by Rui Barbosa (Rio de Janeiro: Leite Ribeiro and Maurillo, 1918), 112-13.

inces afflicted.”⁹⁹ Antônio Venâncio Cavalcanti de Albuquerque’s words alluded to the “Ceará problem,” a concern also made explicit in a runaway slave advertisement from 1883. In the ad, a planter from the heart of the sugar belt (Escada) insisted that his slave, Luiz, “is being protected by someone” and speculated that he had already been sent “to Ceará in order for his owner to stop searching for him around here.”¹⁰⁰ An initial, measured approach to abolition and an alternative to the chaos associated with Ceará, the provincial emancipation fund freed approximately 135 people between 1883 and 1885.¹⁰¹ The small-scale effect of this fund on the 10,000 or so still enslaved in the municipality of Recife notwithstanding, the fact that the government commissioned the newly created abolitionist federation Central Emancipadora de Pernambuco to handle the operations of the fund suggested that the movement had attained recognition at the highest levels of provincial politics. Abolitionist societies, as Cavalcanti de Albuquerque affirmed, had indeed been central in mounting the challenge to sugar planters. The movement had by mid-1883 developed a more cohesive framework and was evidently recognized as wielding some degree of political capital.

The following year, Recife’s municipal council approved its own emancipation fund, impelled by the March 25 demonstrations.¹⁰² The political symbolism attached to the municipal fund, however, pointed to the project’s conservative nature; similar political wrangling would also surround the creation and application of the municipal fund in Rio de Janeiro.¹⁰³ A key proponent of Recife’s municipal fund, Manoel Antônio Viegas, demanded that the city commission a painting of Theodoro Machado Freire Pereira da Silva, the agricultural minister in the 1871 cabinet that passed the Free Womb Law, to display as part of the manumission ceremonies.¹⁰⁴ Given the mounting abolitionist agitation nationally and the growing public approval of the radical developments

99. Antônio Venâncio Cavalcanti de Albuquerque, 17 Mar. 1883, in *Annaes da Assembleia Provincial de Pernambuco: Sessão de 1883*, vol. 1 (Recife: Typographia de M. Figueroa de Faria & Filhos, 1883), 115.

100. *O Tempo* (Recife), 10 Nov. 1883, p. 4.

101. Peter L. Eisenberg, “Abolishing Slavery: The Process on Pernambuco’s Sugar Plantations,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 52, no. 4 (1972): 595.

102. The bill was introduced on March 29, 1884; the celebrations occurred on March 25. See *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 2 Apr. 1884, p. 4, for a link between the two.

103. On the fund in Rio de Janeiro, see Cowling, “Debating Womanhood,” 288–90; Castilho and Cowling, “Funding Freedom,” 97–105.

104. Manoel Antônio Viegas, “Atas da Câmara Municipal do Recife,” 29 Mar. 1884, printed in *Diário de Pernambuco* (Recife), 16 Apr. 1884, p. 1.

in Ceará, the council opted for an arresting symbol. Pereira da Silva, a former representative of Recife in national parliament, had staunchly condemned the news from Ceará. He attended sugar planters' conferences in Recife in 1878 and 1884 and, like many, masked an antiabolitionism position by emphasizing that the 1871 Gradual Abolition Law, even at its crawling pace, represented the only path toward abolition. The machinations surrounding the fund aside, its mere existence represented a new phase in the local politics of abolition.

In short, the creation of the provincial and municipal emancipation funds revealed the government's struggle to place itself at the center of the process of abolition. And just two years later the government's position changed again with the prohibition on abolitionist theater. By late 1884, however, there were over 25 abolitionist societies in Recife, including an all-women's group. These associations were instrumental not only in spurring legislative changes at the local level but also in altering the practice of politics in 1880s Recife. Collective mobilization through political associations was fostering new webs of sociability. Furthermore, as had been the case in other parts of Latin America during the late nineteenth century, the proliferation of associative life was also connected to the construction of public opinion. "Collective action was always organized in the name of the people," Hilda Sabato writes, and it was precisely the mobilization of broad sectors of the population that expanded the parameters of citizenship.¹⁰⁵ The fact that the vast majority of those present at the massive abolitionist rallies of the mid-1880s could not vote, nor were they even recorded on the membership rolls of abolitionist societies, for that matter, does not diminish the implications of their actions for local politics. By 1884, the movement had acquired a broad and popular character, a character forged through an ensemble of abolitionist performances in public and cultural arenas.

Conclusion

Today, a plaque hanging inside Recife's Santa Isabel Theater reads, "the abolitionist cause was won here."¹⁰⁶ Attributed to Joaquim Nabuco, the words refer to the importance of the theater as a rallying site during his campaign for a

105. Hilda Sabato, *The Many and the Few: Political Participation in Republican Buenos Aires* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2001), 168.

106. The quote on the plaque is paraphrased from a speech Joaquim Nabuco delivered in 1906. On the 1906 speech and the ebullient reception Nabuco received, especially from some Afro-Brazilians who carried him on their shoulders, see Jeffrey D. Needell, "Nabuco e a batalha parlamentar pela abolição," in Albuquerque, *Joaquim Nabuco e Wisconsin*, 305.

parliamentary seat in 1884. He would later write that the speeches in the Santa Isabel Theater were “among the best in his life.”¹⁰⁷ It remains unclear whether from the politician’s perspective it registered that the theater had been the crucible for abolitionist mobilization in Recife long before his rousing speeches in late 1884. Reflecting the varied forms of civic participation key for building a movement, Nabuco’s campaign also featured innovative practices, such as speaking in public squares and theaters. His speeches appealed to all citizens, even though the large numbers of men and women present could not vote. The public he addressed (and invented), as well as the abolitionist platform he championed, reflected an important broad-based movement extant in Recife. Notably, during the previous election just two years earlier, the issue of abolitionism was entirely absent from politicians’ platforms.

The theater and the streets emerged in the 1880s as physical and conceptual spaces to confront the problem of slavery. Myriad abolitionist performances changed the political practices and expectations of both elites and subalterns, demonstrating that the exercise of citizenship and civic participation, along with the mediations of political power, were also occurring beyond the ballot box and party structures. The experiences from Recife compel historians to continue probing the rich intersections between cultural and political history, to treat “politics . . . in connection with other aspects of human life.”¹⁰⁸ An integrated approach to Latin American political history, moreover, promises deeper access to the nuances and complexities of political life, especially when considering the era of the consolidated oligarchies. In the end, the contracting of Thomas Passini’s lyrical company proved costly to the Pernambucan government. One particular benefit concert did not beget a social movement; yet it did inspire another antislavery performance, and then a few dozen more. Senespleda’s modest, symbolic actions remind historians how small acts can have outsized consequences. From Recife, she continued north to São Luís, Maranhão, where historians have yet to trace her exploits.

The ideas and practice of abolitionism form part of a long, uneven, and tortured history of Brazilian democracy. New understandings of belonging emerged, and such manifestations were articulated in ways that forced a fundamental rethinking of the parameters of political expression. The study of the movement, moreover, has also been framed as a “chapter in the history of urban radicalism.”¹⁰⁹ Yet, as with other social movements from different times and

107. Joaquim Nabuco, *Minha formação* (1900; Rio de Janeiro: Editora Topbooks, 1999), 157.

108. Costa, *Brazilian Empire*, xix.

109. Bergstresser, “Movement for the Abolition,” 9.

places, Brazilian abolitionism produced a mixed legacy. While it constituted a forceful agent in accelerating the end of slavery, from a twenty-first-century perspective few, if any, would suggest that abolitionist mobilization eroded racial, class, and gendered structures of inequality. At the same time, few, if any, could argue that the scale and breadth of political participation in the 1880s did not change people's notions of belonging and rights. Though stories of upwardly mobile former slaves or of continued, integrated mass mobilization are scarce, historical research on the postabolition period has shown that a range of subsequent struggles for greater inclusion had roots in the collective actions of the 1880s.¹¹⁰ The case of Brazilian abolitionism demands more scrutiny and wider transnational and Atlantic comparisons with not only other antislavery mobilizations but also with a wider set of social movements writ large. Such queries are essential to sharpening our understandings of the histories of citizenship and democracy in the Americas.

110. The Brazilian historiography on the postabolition period is vast. This is necessarily a small sampling of works that stress continuities with the 1880s: Olívia Maria Gomes da Cunha and Flávio dos Santos Gomes, eds., *Quase-cidadão: Histórias e antropologias da pós-emancipação no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2007); Walter Fraga Filho, *Encruzilhadas da liberdade: Histórias de escravos e libertos na Bahia, 1870-1910* (Campinas, Brazil: Editora UNICAMP, 2006), 213-82; Machado, "From Slave Rebels to Strikebreakers"; Beatriz Ana Loner, "Antônio: de Oliveira a Baobad" (paper presented at the II Encontro Escravidão e Liberdade no Brasil Meridional, Porto Alegre, Brazil, 26-28 Oct. 2005); Kim D. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1998).

Not Just Color: Whiteness, Nation, and Status in Latin America

Edward Telles and René Flores

In the growing academic literature on race and ethnicity in Latin America, the primary focus of research has been on the marginalized: usually Afro-descendants (blacks and mulattoes) or indigenous people, and sometimes mestizos or mixed-race persons. While ideas of whiteness and white privilege are often implicit in this work, whiteness has rarely been directly studied, even though white persons are presumed to be at the top of the region's racial pigmentocracy. Instead, this study turns the analytic mirror directly onto the dominant white group rather than any of the subordinate groups. Since the early colonial period, whites have been the dominant status group and whiteness has represented power, wealth, privilege, and beauty in virtually every part of Spanish and Portuguese America, while Afro-descendants and indigenous persons have been at the bottom of the social structure. In the Spanish colonial system of *castas* and ever since, whiteness has been an asset in many areas of social life, though it is not as regulated or as rigidly defined today. In social interactions today as in the past, persons deemed white have been bestowed with formal and informal privileges, social deference, and positive attributes.

As in the United States and in many parts of the Western world, whiteness has long represented modernity and progress for many Latin American nations. For individual Latin Americans, it is used as a form of social capital that symbolizes and often entitles its bearers to privilege and status. In her ethnographic study in Rio de Janeiro, Robin E. Sheriff finds that local whites seek to preserve their whiteness through practices such as prohibiting children from

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intimate interaction with dark-skinned persons and staying out of the sun.¹ Moreover, she finds that although the extent to which her middle-class white subjects consciously construct and maintain their whiteness may be particularly Latin American or Brazilian, they often revealed a “transnational and deeply racialized notion of . . . whiteness” shared with the white populations of North America and Europe.² She observed that some middle-class white Brazilians resented the possibility that North Americans and Europeans could lump them together with their darker conationals, thus implicitly challenging their claims to a transnational whiteness.

Studies of racial classification in Latin America have usually stressed its ambiguity or flexibility and its phenotypic or appearance-based quality, especially in relation to the historically more rigid and ancestry-based concept of race in the United States.³ The literature usually points to the ambiguity of classification among blacks, indigenous people, and mulattoes in particular but says little about whites except that some nonwhites, with enough status, may become white. An exception is Harry Hoetink, who argues that there is an idea of a “somatic norm” about who is white that varies by context, particularly between the Spanish Caribbean and those regions colonized by the French, Dutch, and English.⁴

Ambiguity thus allows for some movement across racial categories in Latin America. However, there seems to be some preference for lighter categories, as in the classification of children. For example, among intermarried Brazilian couples involving white and mixed-race spouses, a slight majority of their progeny are classified as white.⁵ Moreover, there also is evidence that racial clas-

1. Robin E. Sheriff, *Dreaming Equality: Color, Race, and Racism in Urban Brazil* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 2001).

2. Ibid., 156.

3. Marvin Harris, “Referential Ambiguity in the Calculus of Brazilian Racial Identity,” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 26, no. 1 (1970): 1–14; Edward E. Telles, “Racial Ambiguity among the Brazilian Population,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25, no. 3 (2002): 415–41; Clarence C. Gravlee, “Ethnic Classification in Southeastern Puerto Rico: The Cultural Model of ‘Color,’” *Social Forces* 83, no. 3 (2005): 949–70. However, more recent authors find little racial ambiguity in Latin America: see Sheriff, *Dreaming Equality*; Tanya Golash-Boza, “Does Whitening Happen? Distinguishing between Race and Color Labels in an African-Descended Community in Peru,” *Social Problems* 57, no. 1 (2010): 138–56.

4. Harry Hoetink, *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations: A Contribution to the Sociology of Segmented Societies*, trans. Eva M. Hooykaas (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967).

5. Edward E. Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2004); Luisa Farah Schwartzman, “Does Money Whiten? Intergenerational Changes in Racial Classification in Brazil,” *American Sociological Review* 72, no. 6 (2007): 940–63.

sification may be affected by the bearer's social status.⁶ This flexibility in racial classification permits us to examine identification as white as a sociological outcome that may vary according to social context rather than as a relatively fixed outcome.

National censuses have existed since the early nineteenth century in many Latin American countries and, in a few cases, before then. Many of these countries have sought to count their populations by race for political ends and, in the process, to shape experiences and meanings of citizenship.⁷ In a historical and cross-national study of whiteness in Latin America, Mara Loveman analyzed the region's 45 racial censuses from 1850 to 1950, a period when race was based on enumerator observations.⁸ She found through census documentation in several countries that racial divisions were treated as "self-evident" and solid, stable, and enduring.⁹ Whites were assumed to be easily identifiable, as instructions for how to identify white respondents were conspicuously absent from enumerator manuals and other census documentation. Furthermore, all but one census listed *white* as the first available response choice, suggesting, along with other evidence in the census documentation, its nearly universal acceptance as the most valued category.¹⁰ The one exception, the 1921 Mexican census, may prove the rule, as it came on the heels of the Mexican Revolution and the elevation of the *mestizo* as central to a new official national ideology. Since about the 1950s, racial classification in national censuses in Latin America¹¹ and throughout the world¹²

6. Marvin Harris, "Race Relations in Minas Velhas, a Community in the Mountain Region of Central Brazil," in *Race and Class in Rural Brazil*, ed. Charles Wagley, 2nd ed. (1952; New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1963), 62–81; Peter Wade, *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1993); Edward E. Telles and Nelson Lim, "Does It Matter Who Answers the Race Question? Racial Classification and Income Inequality in Brazil," *Demography* 35, no. 4 (1998): 465–74.

7. Melissa Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2000); Mara Loveman, "Whiteness in Latin America: Measurement and Meaning in National Censuses (1850–1950)," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 95, no. 2 (2009): 207–34 (we also draw from an unpublished and expanded 2009 version of this article, "Whiteness in Latin America as Seen through Official Statistics, 1870–1930").

8. Loveman, "Whiteness in Latin America: Measurement and Meaning."

9. *Ibid.*, 226.

10. Nearly all censuses in the period included the category of *white* except for Guatemala and the 1950 censuses of Honduras and Bolivia. Correspondence with Loveman.

11. Loveman, "Whiteness in Latin America: Measurement and Meaning."

12. Ann Morning, "Ethnic Classification in Global Perspective: A Cross-National Survey of the 2000 Census Round," *Population Research and Policy Review* 27, no. 2 (2008): 239–72.

has become based on self-identity, revealing a shift from “race as a concept defined by a clearly bounded set of physical traits open to observation to race as an expression of subjective personal identity.”¹³

In the 2000s, largely as a result of international pressure and growing concern about minority rights, most Latin American countries began to collect race and ethnicity data, often for the first time in decades. However, among the 17 countries including race or ethnicity in the 2000 round of censuses, only 4—Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, and El Salvador—included a white category.¹⁴ Among these 17 countries, all but Cuba and the Dominican Republic asked about indigenous identification, and 8 queried about black, mulatto, or Afro-descendant identification.¹⁵ The small number of countries asking about identification as white may be due to the fact that whites are not supposed to exist according to some national ideologies (e.g., *mestizaje* in Mexico), or perhaps it is further evidence that whiteness is simply not problematized as it is for non-whites. As Loveman found for the historical censuses, *white* is listed first in three of the four contemporary cases where *white* is a response category (except Ecuador).¹⁶

The boundaries of whiteness are thought to be flexible even in the United States,¹⁷ which is often characterized as having more rigid racial boundaries than Latin America, particularly because of the United States’ one-drop rule.¹⁸ Scholarship by historians including David Roediger and Matthew Frye Jacobson has inspired whiteness studies in the United States by showing that European immigrants were not considered fully white at the time of their mass immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁹ Rather, through a

13. Taeku Lee, “Between Social Theory and Social Science Practice: Toward a New Approach to the Survey Measurement of ‘Race,’” in *Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists*, ed. Rawi Abdelal et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009), 116.

14. Fabiana Del Popolo, *Los pueblos indígenas y afrodescendientes en las fuentes de datos: Experiencias en América Latina* (Santiago de Chile: Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, 2008).

15. Neither the Dominican Republic nor Uruguay asked about race and ethnicity in their censuses, although Uruguay collected such data in their official national household surveys. Ibid.

16. Loveman, “Whiteness in Latin America: Measurement and Meaning.”

17. Hoetink, *Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations*.

18. F. James Davis, *Who is Black? One Nation's Definition* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1991).

19. David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1999); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1998).

historical process that included national mobilizations in two world wars, an unprecedented expansion of the American economy, and the distancing of these ethnic groups from African Americans, descendants of Central and Eastern European immigrants were able to become fully white by the 1970s.

Scholars have also found the boundaries of whiteness to be flexible in Latin America. Elite strategies of whitening have become an important topic for historians of Latin America.²⁰ Another study using a series of national censuses in Brazil shows that while the boundaries of whiteness were mostly stable for the population from 1940 to 1990, they appear to have contracted in later years as Brazilians increasingly identified in nonwhite categories.²¹ Finally, Mara Loveman and Jeronimo O. Muniz's analysis of the 1910 and 1920 censuses of Puerto Rico found that the boundaries of whiteness expanded in the 1910s.²²

The Historical Importance of Whitening in Latin America

The Colonial Caste System

Historians have documented the long and often complicated history of race in Latin America, including the importance of whiteness as an aspiration for the nation and for individuals. In much of Spanish America, the Spanish authorities established a caste system based on the proportion of Spanish blood among its population, though phenotype or skin color was more often used since genealogies were generally unavailable except in the most elite families. Spaniards and their "pure-blooded" descendants were clearly aware of their privileged status as they were given full legal and social rights, which granted them access to elite jobs, schools, occupations, and various economic opportunities. Whiteness also bestowed pure-blooded Spaniards with honor and pride, as even lower-class whites treasured their racial purity as their "most precious and inalienable asset, an inheritance which entitled them to unquestioned legal superiority over nonwhites."²³ Whiteness also became a valued property in the marriage market

20. See Richard Graham, ed., *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1990); Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Roseblatt, eds., *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2003).

21. José Alberto Magno de Carvalho, Charles H. Wood, and Flávia Cristina Drumond Andrade, "Estimating the Stability of Census-Based Racial/Ethnic Classifications: The Case of Brazil," *Population Studies* 58, no. 3 (2004): 331–43.

22. Mara Loveman and Jeronimo O. Muniz, "How Puerto Rico Became White: Boundary Dynamics and Intercensus Racial Reclassification," *American Sociological Review* 72, no. 6 (2007): 915–39.

23. George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800–1900* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 18.

for both whites and nonwhites, allowing the former to maintain high status for their children and permitting the latter to gain higher status for themselves and especially their children.²⁴

The marriage market, though, was largely constrained by the highly uneven sex ratio among Spanish and Portuguese colonists, as their immigration to the Americas was largely male. The paucity of white women in the colonial period led to high rates of mixture among nonwhite women and white men, especially lower-class white men whose status reduced their marital prospects. Overall, racial mixture (*mestizaje*) was apparently greater in Latin America than in the United States, where a more balanced sex ratio among whites emerged from a more family-based immigration in the colonial period.²⁵ Some racially mixed persons were occasionally reclassified in lighter categories. Those with means purchased “*gracias al sacar*” certificates, which removed some of the legal obstacles associated with being considered nonwhite.²⁶ Eventually, Spaniards began to deploy the term *raza* instead of caste, especially in reference to persons of full or partial African ancestry.²⁷ As caste laws and colonial hierarchies disappeared and all became formally equal before the law, as generations of race mixture made castes unsustainable, and as mercantile capitalism expanded, ideas of lineage were gradually substituted with informal discourses of physical appearance.²⁸

24. María de los Ángeles Acuña León and Dorián Chavarría López, “El mestizaje: La sociedad multirracial en la ciudad de Cartago, 1738–1821” (bachelor’s thesis, Universidad de Costa Rica, 1991); Jeffrey M. Shumway, “‘The Purity of My Blood Cannot Put Food on My Table’: Changing Attitudes towards Interracial Marriage in Nineteenth-Century Buenos Aires,” *The Americas* 58, no. 2 (2001): 201–20; Verena Martínez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society*, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1989).

25. Telles, *Race in Another America*; Martínez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour*; Lowell Gudmundson, “Black into White in Nineteenth-Century Spanish America: Afro-American Assimilation in Argentina and Costa Rica,” *Slavery and Abolition* 5, no. 1 (1984): 34–49.

26. Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780–1854* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1999); Gudmundson, “Black into White”; Mauricio Meléndez Obando, “Presencia de Africa en las familias costarricenses,” *La Nación Digital*, http://www.nacion.com/ln_ee/ESPECIALES/raices/preafric.html.

27. María Elena Martínez, “The Language, Genealogy, and Classification of ‘Race’ in Colonial Mexico,” in *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America*, ed. Ilona Katzew and Susan Deans-Smith (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2009), 25–42.

28. Ibid.; Meléndez Obando, “Presencia de Africa”; Alan Knight, “Racism, Revolution, and *Indigenismo*: Mexico, 1910–1940,” in Graham, *Idea of Race in Latin America*, 71–113.

Nation Making and Whiteness

The early formation of many Latin American nations coincided with the period of scientific racism in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²⁹ Indeed, the concern for protecting racial purity increased during this period, as elites in these countries were more and more worried that the presence of significant black, indigenous, and mixed-race populations would limit their development.³⁰ In response, national elites, inspired by the growing field of eugenics, often sought to whiten local populations by promoting European immigration³¹ and discouraging Asian and African immigrant flows.³² Brazilian elites were particularly concerned, as a large majority of their population was nonwhite, and they went as far as subsidizing ship passages and providing land to entice European immigrants to settle in their country.³³

Moreover, Latin American and especially Brazilian elites, due to a belief in neo-Lamarckian genetics and constructive miscegenation, also encouraged intermarriage between whites and nonwhites in the optimistic belief that this would produce a whiter population, if not eventually a white population. Eugenists believed this was possible because they thought both that white genes were stronger and could overcome the deficiencies of inferior black and indigenous

29. Nancy Leys Stepan, *"The Hour of Eugenics": Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1991).

30. Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1991); Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1999); Martínez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour*.

31. See Jose C. Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850–1930* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1998), 442, for extensive references on the promotion of European immigration to various countries in Latin America. The Costa Rican elite may have been exceptions in that they did not promote European immigration but rather an internal migration. See also Ronald Soto Quirós and David Díaz Arias, *Mestizaje, indígenas e identidad nacional en Centroamérica: De la colonia a las repúblicas liberales* (San José, Costa Rica: FLACSO, 2006).

32. Stepan, *"Hour of Eugenics"*; Thomas E. Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1974); Alejandro de la Fuente, *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2001); Lara Elizabeth Putnam, "Ideología racial, práctica social y Estado Liberal en Costa Rica," *Revista de Historia* (San José), no. 39 (1999): 139–86.

33. Stepan, *"Hour of Eugenics"*; Skidmore, *Black into White*; Thomas H. Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886–1934* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1980).

genes and that whites were more fecund.³⁴ In countries like Brazil, El Salvador, and Bolivia, elites paid close attention to national censuses, often touting whitening and deblackening trends.³⁵

Mestizaje Ideologies

However, with the demise of scientifically endorsed ideas of white supremacy in the 1930s, ideas of whitening would often be turned on their head and replaced with ideologies of mestizaje, or race mixing. Rather than see their histories of race mixture as harmful, several fledgling Latin American nations, realizing that they had large black, indigenous, and mixed-race populations and perceiving a need to create national homogeneity to prevent racial divisions, would develop new narratives that showcased racial mixture, intermarriage, mixed-race persons, and, sometimes, indigenous symbols.³⁶ These would be used to promote the idea that these countries were racially tolerant and thus morally superior to their segregated neighbor to the north, the United States.³⁷ Although these countries had promoted the status of mixed-race categories, the value and desire for whiteness continued to be strong, even in countries like Mexico and Brazil.³⁸ A perusal of the white (and often blonde) actors and actresses used in soap operas and advertisements for luxury items produced in countries such as Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, and Venezuela reveals the high value that is still given to whiteness today.³⁹

34. On such genes discourse, see Skidmore, *Black into White*; Thomas M. Stephens, *Dictionary of Latin American Racial and Ethnic Terminology*, 2nd ed. (Gainesville: Univ. Press of Florida, 1999).

35. Skidmore, *Black into White*; Telles, *Race in Another America*; Loveman, "Whiteness in Latin America: Measurement and Meaning."

36. Knight, "Racism, Revolution, and *Indigenismo*"; Soto Quirós and Díaz Arias, *Mestizaje, indígenas e identidad nacional*; John Lynch, *Simón Bolívar: A Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 2006).

37. Skidmore, *Black into White*; Knight, "Racism, Revolution, and *Indigenismo*"; Suzanne Bost, *Mulattas and Mestizas: Representing Mixed Identities in the Americas, 1850–2000* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 2003).

38. Knight, "Racism, Revolution, and *Indigenismo*"; Skidmore, *Black into White*; Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship*.

39. Amelia Simpson, *Xuxa: The Mega-Marketing of Gender, Race, and Modernity* (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1993).

Social Status Effects on Racial Classification

Before his classic study about ambiguity in Brazilian racial classification,⁴⁰ Marvin Harris claimed that, based on his earlier study of a central Brazilian town, the category of whiteness included mulattoes of average or above-average wealth as well as wealthy blacks.⁴¹ In Mexico, Porfirio Díaz, president of the country for 35 years before the Mexican Revolution, was described as “probably all white” by one contemporary observer, while at least one historian claims that he was “‘an almost pure Mixtec’ Indian.”⁴² These ideas or observations reflect a common saying that “money whitens,” though the research literature is mixed about the truth of this saying. It is not clear if this money-whitening effect refers to actual changes in one’s racial classification or if it simply refers to improvements in social treatment. It is similarly unclear if there are limits based on race or color to changes in classification or treatment with higher status or if these changes are limited to only a few places or historical periods.

Several studies have found that whitening by status is limited or non-existent. Charles Wagley, the editor of the book that included the already cited studies by Harris and Harry W. Hutchinson,⁴³ contended that status gains just made nonwhites more acceptable to whites rather than actually allowing their reclassification as white. He also suggested that observations like those by Harris and Hutchinson were based on “‘naked eye’ judgments” that were affected by particular “social and cultural experience.”⁴⁴ Octavio Ianni’s study of middle-class blacks and mulattoes in Brazil finds that whitening is an ideology that permeates and guides their behaviors and aspirations as they seek to socially integrate with whites and distance themselves from black stereotypes, but that actual reclassification is rare.⁴⁵

In her study of a Peruvian region with a predominance of Afro-descendants, Tanya Golash-Boza could not find a single person who became white because of

40. Harris, “Referential Ambiguity.”

41. Harris, “Race Relations in Minas Velhas.” For similar findings, see also Harry W. Hutchinson, “Race Relations in a Rural Community of the Bahian Recôncavo,” in Wagley, *Race and Class in Rural Brazil*, 16–46.

42. Knight, “Racism, Revolution, and *Indigenismo*,” 73.

43. Harris, “Race Relations in Minas Velhas”; Hutchinson, “Race Relations in a Rural Community.”

44. Charles Wagley, “Introduction,” in Wagley, *Race and Class in Rural Brazil*, 14.

45. Octavio Ianni, *Raças e Classes Sociais no Brasil* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1970).

wealth or status. According to her, no amount of status could whiten a person.⁴⁶ Residents rarely used intermediate categories and claimed that only an actual skin color transformation could whiten, as in the case of Michael Jackson.⁴⁷ Similarly, Sheriff finds that residents of Rio de Janeiro made fairly clear black-white racial distinctions while intermediate categories were secondary, used merely in descriptions of skin color variations.⁴⁸

Peter Wade argued that racial reclassification may occur only for persons near the boundary of racial categories, at least in the case of Colombia.⁴⁹ Analysts of Brazilian censuses and surveys have also shown that reclassification in lighter categories due to status is more likely to occur from black to mixed-race categories, while the white-nonwhite boundary is clearly more rigid.⁵⁰ Marisol de la Cadena similarly finds that indigenous migrants involved in commercial activity are more likely to identify as mestizo in Peru than those remaining to work in agriculture.⁵¹ On the other hand, researchers have found that in Mexico and Ecuador indigenous identities may be emphasized, often through "authentic" dress, where they offer strategic advantages in selling ethnic products or in making special claims to authorities.⁵²

The measurement of whitening by status is variable across studies, and this may affect findings. Whitening measured in a particular way is not necessarily replicated when measured another way. That money or status whitens has been found when examining high-status appearance in relation to a person's social class;⁵³ the effect of education on interviewer ratings in comparison to self-identity, or vice versa;⁵⁴ and the effect of parents' education on their racial classification of their children.⁵⁵

46. Golash-Boza, "Does Whitening Happen?"

47. Ibid., 148.

48. Sheriff, *Dreaming Equality*.

49. Wade, *Blackness and Race Mixture*.

50. Telles, "Racial Ambiguity"; Carvalho, Wood, and Andrade, "Estimating the Stability"; Loveman, "Whiteness in Latin America: Measurement and Meaning."

51. Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2000).

52. Lynn Stephen, "The Creation and Re-creation of Ethnicity: Lessons from the Zapotec and Mixtec of Oaxaca," *Latin American Perspectives* 23, no. 2 (1996): 17-37; David Kyle, "The Otavalo Trade Diaspora: Social Capital and Transnational Entrepreneurship," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22, no. 2 (1999): 422-46.

53. Harris, "Race Relations in Minas Velhas"; Hutchinson, "Race Relations in a Rural Community."

54. Telles, "Racial Ambiguity."

55. Schwartzman, "Does Money Whiten?"

In contrast, the new era of multiculturalism may have changed the direction in which status affects classification or identity. In Brazil, a greater opportunity for attending college is made possible in universities with racial quotas, which have been shown to increase identification as *negro*.⁵⁶ For the Dominican Republic, David Howard contends that some dark-skinned persons, particularly those of the middle and upper classes with secure socioeconomic standings, have begun to explore their non-European roots and to take on mulatto rather than the more ambiguous *indio* identity.⁵⁷

Recent Changes in White Identity? Possible Age Effects

As Latin American countries recognize racism and develop new narratives about multiculturalism, at the same time their populations are increasingly exposed to other countries through immigration, popular culture, and media. With these changes, nonwhite identities may be increasingly used. Deborah Yashar and Charles Hale argue that in response to neoliberalism, the 1990s was a decade of strong indigenous mobilization and pro-Indian legislative initiatives, which led to a revaluation of indigenous identities.⁵⁸ Institutional and political initiatives about indigenous ethnicity in Colombia in the 1990s, such as Law 70, also led to the emergence of black identities.⁵⁹ Also important may be the role of non-whites as purveyors of popular culture (sometimes in a negative way, but often in positive roles), which may raise the value of black or mulatto identity and thus diminish the incentives to identify as white.⁶⁰

Further evidence on growing nonwhite, and therefore contracting white, identities comes in the way of shifts in the racial composition of Brazil, where

56. Andrew M. Francis and Maria Tannuri-Pianto, "Endogenous Race in Brazil: Affirmative Action and the Construction of Racial Identity among Young Adults," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 61, no. 4 (2013): 731–53.

57. David Howard, *Coloring the Nation: Race and Ethnicity in the Dominican Republic* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2001).

58. Deborah J. Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005); Charles R. Hale, *Más que un Indio (More than an Indian): Racial Ambivalence and Neoliberal Multiculturalism in Guatemala* (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 2006).

59. Arturo Escobar, *Territories of Difference: Place, Movements, Life, Redes* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2008).

60. Mark Q. Sawyer, "Du Bois's Double Consciousness versus Latin American Exceptionalism: Joe Arroyo, Salsa, and Négritude," in *Transnational Blackness: Navigating the Global Color Line*, ed. Manning Marable and Vanessa Agard-Jones (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 135–48.

the 2000 census and subsequent population estimates based on national surveys reveal that the white proportion of the national population is diminishing while the nonwhite proportion has increased. This is likely attributable, at least in part, to changing racial politics, including affirmative action.⁶¹

National Differences and White Identity

The extent to which people identify as white may depend on their national context. Hoetink found that a “somatic norm,” which he defines as the complex of physical characteristics accepted by a group as its norm and ideal, varies between the Spanish-speaking Caribbean (basically, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico) and the Caribbean colonized by the Dutch, French, and English.⁶² Although he limited himself to the greater Caribbean region and he considered his comparisons as limited to countries with almost no indigenous populations, Hoetink suggests that these societies developed three-tier social and racial structures (white, mulatto, and black) in response to economic needs, in particular national contexts. Because of this, “one and the same person may be considered white in the Dominican Republic or Puerto Rico, and ‘coloured’ in Jamaica, Martinique, or Curaçao,” or “called a ‘Negro’” in the US South.⁶³ Unfortunately, Hoetink did not explore differences among a range of Latin American countries, but he rejected the idea that whiteness and blackness were generalizable notions, proposing instead that differences in national economies and histories may shape racial classification.

Thomas Stephens’s *Dictionary of Latin American Racial and Ethnic Terminology* provides 16 distinct usages of the Spanish term *blanco* that range from the commonly cited “person with white skin color,” a “mestizo” in Ecuador, a “person whose skin color appears less Indian than white” in Peru, to a “white or non-white person considered important, wealthy or dictatorial” in Colombia, Panama, and Peru.⁶⁴ There are also eight definitions for the Portuguese word *branco* with similar variation. In addition, there are more than 100 variants of both terms in which *white* is used with adjectives or the word is altered, such as *blanco retinto* (“white person with dark skin color” in Cuba), *blanquito* (“Indian person with somewhat white skin color” in Ecuador), or *blanco de la tierra* (“Dominican, no

61. Telles, *Race in Another America*; Francis and Tannuri-Pianto, “Endogenous Race in Brazil.”

62. Hoetink, *Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations*.

63. Ibid., xii.

64. Stephens, *Dictionary of Latin American*.

matter what race or color"). All these and other definitions of whiteness seem to be based on skin color, though they also reveal differences that suggest that national variations could be meaningful. However, the frequency or manner in which these connotations of the term *white* are shared nationally or regionally is not known, from this or any other source. With this study, we expect to show national differences in the term's use today. To understand patterns in national differences, we draw on historical and social science evidence. We follow this with hypotheses based on that research.

Though the United States may be considered extreme, the comparison of Mexican Americans with Mexican nationals illustrates how national contexts shaped the identity of the same population as either white or non-white. In the mid-twentieth century, Mexican American political leaders fought discrimination in the US Southwest by seeking acceptance as white.⁶⁵ This occurred at the same time that mestizos and mestizaje were glorified in Mexico, perhaps to showcase Mexico's moral superiority to its northern neighbor, whose racism was shown by its treatment of people of Mexican origin.⁶⁶ Thus, classification of the Mexican-origin population as white was considered an important political and individual strategy in the US context, whereas Mexican American mestizos were often considered at least officially white.⁶⁷ On the other hand, incentives to classify as white rather than mestizo in Mexico were reversed because mestizophilia had raised the value of mixed-racedness by challenging the notion of white purity and the idea that miscegenation was an impediment to progress.⁶⁸ In the United States, *mestizo* was seen as a low- or intermediate-status category, while mestizos in Mexico were considered part, if not most, of the dominant group, along with whites. By the time of the Chicano movement in the 1960s, however, Chicano lead-

65. This was in contrast to the strategy of African Americans (who did not have that choice) and the next generation of Mexican Americans, who combated discrimination by arguing that the Constitution protected all, regardless of race. See Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1997).

66. José Vasconcelos, the author of *La raza cósmica* (1925) and Mexico's minister of education, had resided in Texas himself and experienced anti-Mexican discrimination. See Knight, "Racism, Revolution, and *Indigenismo*."

67. Foley, *White Scourge*; Ian F. Haney López, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1996).

68. Alexandra Minna Stern, "Eugenics and Racial Classification in Modern Mexican America," in Katzew and Deans-Smith, *Race and Classification*, 151–73.

ers would seek out mestizo identities in order to reclaim and affirm nonwhite or indigenous identities. Ironically, mestizo identities in Mexico, from the presumed perspective of the indigenous minorities, could be seen as denying indigenous identities.⁶⁹

Whitening versus Mestizaje

Argentina and Costa Rica may be similar to the United States, with its historical emphasis on whiteness well into the twentieth century. According to Lowell Gudmundson, Argentina and Costa Rica were exceptions to the mestizaje turn in most Latin American nations. Instead, these two countries would continue to have "Social Darwinist national ideolog[ies] of whiteness and superiority," mostly rejecting ideas of mestizaje.⁷⁰ Argentina had a relatively large slave population in the mid-nineteenth century, but Afro-Argentines disproportionately died from disease and war, and their numbers would be swamped through massive European immigration. Moreover, intermarriage with the much-larger European population in successive generations reduced the Afro-descendant population through a multigenerational process of race mixture from black to mulatto and eventually to *trigueño* and then fully white.⁷¹ Eventually, Argentine elites were able to achieve their goal of national whitening.⁷² In Costa Rica, elites and the popular classes proclaimed themselves all part of the same "great national white family," even though there was racial mixture among them.⁷³

Indigenous versus Black

Political scientist Juliet Hooker claims that, in social policies throughout the region, Afro-descendants and mixtures involving African ancestry were given lower status and less consideration than indigenous persons and mixtures involving them,⁷⁴ which is consistent with ideas held throughout the Spanish

69. Rafael Pérez-Torres, *Mestizaje: Critical Uses of Race in Chicano Culture* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2006); Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, *México Profundo: Reclaiming a Civilization*, trans. Philip A. Dennis (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1996).

70. Gudmundson, "Black into White," 34.

71. Ibid.; Andrews, *Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires*.

72. Andrews, *Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires*; Shumway, "'Purity of My Blood.'"

73. Putnam, "Ideología racial, práctica social," 144.

74. Juliet Hooker, "Indigenous Inclusion / Black Exclusion: Race, Ethnicity and Multicultural Citizenship in Latin America," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 37, no. 2 (2005): 285–310.

colonial empire.⁷⁵ This is also consistent with an apparent preference overall for the indigenous in the colonial period. Josep Fradera, like other historians, argues that an old Spanish aversion to and distrust of nonwhites was directed above all at Africans and their descendants, possibly because of a fear of “infection from Islam.”⁷⁶ In social interactions in the Americas, mixture with indigenous blood seemed less problematic. Magnus Mörner quotes several travelers who argued that many times mestizos could not be distinguished from whites. One proclaimed that “there are no other differences in their facial features, body shape, way of talking nor in their way of pronouncing.” Mörner also cites the Spanish travelers Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, who in a letter to the Spanish king recognized that it was easy to confuse mestizos with Spaniards because mestizos sometimes “seemed more Spanish than those who actually were.”⁷⁷ Countries like Mexico, El Salvador, and Honduras often glorified an indigenous past by elevating heroes like Cuauhtémoc (in Mexico), Atlacatl (in El Salvador), or Lempira (in Honduras), though they had previously labeled indigenous peoples as barbaric and their treatment of contemporary indigenous people left much to be desired.⁷⁸ On the other hand, the goals of homogenizing its national identity as white or mixed were never consolidated in Guatemala, where ladino and indigenous/Mayan identities were often more important than a national identity.⁷⁹

Hence, we expect that the extent to which people identify as white will likely depend upon their national contexts. The interplay of factors such as national ideologies, local histories, actions of the elites, and population makeup

75. Josep M. Fradera, “Does Caste become Class in Spanish America? Continuity and Change in Social Distinctions” (paper presented at “Inventing Race in the Americas,” University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, 16. Apr. 2010); Luis Lira Montt, “El estatuto de limpieza de sangre en Indias,” *Hidalguía: La revista de genealogía, nobleza y armas*, no. 278 (2000): 177–202; Martínez, “Language, Genealogy, and Classification of ‘Race.’”

76. Fradera, “Does Caste become Class,” 19–22. On this point, see also Lira Montt, “El estatuto de limpieza”; and Martínez, “Language, Genealogy, and Classification of ‘Race.’”

77. Magnus Mörner, “La inmigración Europea y la formación de las sociedades Ibéricas,” in *Historia general de América Latina*, vol. 3, *Consolidación del orden colonial*, ed. Alfredo Castillero Calvo and Allan J. Kuethe (Paris: Éditions UNESCO, 1999), 415–28.

78. Knight, “Racism, Revolution, and *Indigenismo*”; Soto Quirós and Díaz Arias, *Mestizaje, indígenas e identidad nacional*; Darío A. Euraque, “La construcción del mestizaje y los movimientos políticos en Honduras: Los casos de los generales Manuel Bonilla, Gregorio Ferrera y Tiburcio Carías Andino,” in *Estado, poder, nacionalidad y raza en la historia de Honduras: Ensayos* (Tegucigalpa, Honduras: Ediciones Subirana, 1996), 69–89.

79. Peter Fleer, “El factor étnico en la formación de las naciones centroamericanas,” *Iberoamericana* 2, no. 8 (2002): 30; Hale, *Más que un Indio*.

could increase or reduce the appeal of whiteness as a coveted social category in each Latin American country.

Multiculturalism and the New Racial Politics

Today, multiculturalism seems to be replacing older ideas of *mestizaje* in many Latin American nations, as the case of Brazil shows, though the changes vary from being merely inscribed in law or in reformed constitutions to involving political actions that threaten white privilege. This is especially apparent in Bolivia—where Evo Morales, of Aymara heritage, has become president and the name of the country is now the Plurinational State of Bolivia—and in Brazil, where prodiversity racial quotas have been initiated in several leading universities. Whereas *mestizaje* sought to homogenize or downplay racial and ethnic diversity throughout the region, this new period of multiculturalism has witnessed the emergence of indigenous and Afro-descendant identities, allowing ethnic minorities, to varying degrees, to make claims on the state.⁸⁰

White Identity and Relational Interaction

Besides looking at larger macro contexts, a part of the literature has explored the ways in which racial categories are deployed at the level of personal interaction. Just as whether one is considered white may vary if one is in Argentina or Brazil, one's racial identity may also vary depending on whom one is interacting with. For example, a person might be more likely to assert a white identity when surrounded by lighter- or darker-skinned people compared to when he or she is around persons of similar color. Thus, racial identity may be relational to the others around an individual. In the context of a survey, one interacts with the interviewer, who tends to be the only other person in the survey situation. Even though interviewers are trained to dress well, be objective, and not emit opinions, respondents probably cannot help but notice their color, especially when they are asked about their own racial identity. This is often referred to as “interviewer bias” in the US sociological literature, and “interviewer race” is known to often affect responses to sensitive questions, as when respondents conceal their true political or race-based beliefs in the presence of an interviewer of another race. We know little about the effect of such interviewer bias on racial identity.

80. Hooker, “Indigenous Inclusion / Black Exclusion”; Mark Q. Sawyer and Tianna S. Paschel, “‘We Didn’t Cross the Color Line, the Color Line Crossed Us’: Blackness and Immigration in the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and the United States,” *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 4, no. 2 (2007): 303–15.

Hypotheses

We have shown a growing literature that provides a wealth of theories about how racial identity is formed in Latin America. These theories may appear contradictory, but this may be because they are supported by only partial evidence, often focusing on a particular nation, social class, or some other characteristic. Moreover, evidence is rarely systematic enough to allow an examination of entire populations rather than population subgroups. Even more uncommon, perhaps nonexistent, is systematic population evidence that examines the entire Latin American region. In this article we pay particular attention to self-identification as white, based on population evidence for nearly all of Latin America. We believe that there is variation in who identifies as white and, moreover, that this self-identification varies in nonrandom ways. We present six hypotheses about patterns for who identifies as white that we will test in the remainder of this paper. They are based on our review of the literature, beginning with the idea, on which there is near consensus, that race is significantly ambiguous in the region, especially when compared to the United States.

Hypothesis 1 (ambiguity): Identity as white is ambiguous and cannot be determined solely on the basis of color.

Hypothesis 2 (status effects): Higher-status persons are more likely than low-status persons to identify as white.

Hypothesis 3 (age effects): Younger persons are less likely to identify as white.

Hypothesis 4 (national effects: whitening versus *mestizaje*): The likelihood of identifying as white among similarly colored persons is greater in countries with strong and persistent whitening ideologies, such as Argentina, Costa Rica, and Uruguay.

Hypothesis 5 (national effects: indigenous versus black): The likelihood of identifying as white or racially mixed is greater where a mixture with black/African peoples is more common than a mixture with indigenous peoples.

Hypothesis 6 (relational interaction): The likelihood of identifying as white will depend on the skin color of the survey taker.

Data

In this study, we examine how color, sociodemographic factors, and national contexts influence who identifies as white throughout Latin America through a series of nationally representative surveys from the 2010 AmericasBarometer,

which were collected by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) based at Vanderbilt University.⁸¹ The 2010 AmericasBarometer conducted nationally representative face-to-face surveys of adults in 24 countries of the Western Hemisphere. The sample size for each country usually consists of approximately 1,500 randomly selected respondents in each country, though the sample size is 2,000–3,000 for Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador. Nationally representative household survey data permit conclusions for the general populations of nearly all the countries in the Latin American region and allow us to assess the relative magnitude of national and sociodemographic effects on whitening.

Using an ethnicity module developed for the 2010 AmericasBarometer, we are able to analyze who considers themselves white in several Latin American countries for the first time. We use self-identity in this study rather than categorization by others because it has become the international standard for racial or any other kind of classification in national censuses.⁸² Though acts like discrimination depend on classification by others, topics like political mobilization and self-esteem depend more on self-identity. Clearly the two are related, as social behaviors based on self-identity are often in response to treatment by others. Self-identification is a reflective process involving one's own experiences, including not only how one is categorized by others but also how one would like to be known.⁸³

Unlike the censuses, the AmericasBarometer directly asks each respondent

81. We thank LAPOP, its director, Mitchell Seligson, and his hardworking staff, especially Dominique Zephyr and Abbie Córdova. We also thank its major supporters (the United States Agency for International Development, the United Nations Development Program, the Inter-American Development Bank, and Vanderbilt University) for making the data available and for including an ethnicity module designed by the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) at Princeton University, which was funded by the Ford Foundation and Princeton University.

82. Morning, "Ethnic Classification in Global Perspective"; Lee, "Between Social Theory." In reality, though, census race questions continue to be determined mostly by others. First of all, generally only one person in each household answers the decennial census, and that person determines the race of all household members. Also, evidence for Brazil shows that interviewers continue to determine the racial or color classification of respondents, even though they are instructed to ask respondents to classify themselves and household members. See Fulvia Rosemberg et al., "A Classificação de Cor no Brasil" (unpublished manuscript, 1993); Telles, *Race in Another America*. In this study, however, all respondents were each asked to self-identify.

83. Richard Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations* (1997; London: SAGE Publications, 1998); Telles, *Race in Another America*.

how they consider themselves in color/racial/ethnic terms. We examine 17 of the 19 Latin American countries. We do not include Guatemala because that survey does not include the white response option. Instead, it uses only the categories *indigena* and *ladino*, with the latter basically referring to all nonindigenous (or non-Mayan) persons.⁸⁴ We also do not include Cuba, where LAPOP was not permitted to conduct a representative survey except under supervision, which would have arguably altered the responses.

For most of the countries, our dependent variable, identification as white, was based on the question: "Do you consider yourself white, mestizo, indigenous, black, mulatto, or other?"⁸⁵ In all countries, the first part of the question (how do you consider yourself?) is the same, but the response categories differ in a minority of the national cases. In all but Guatemala, the white response option is used. However, the response options varied from the standard question in Venezuela, Brazil, and the Dominican Republic.

In Venezuela, the category *moreno* is merely added to the common list. In the Dominican Republic, though they have never had a racial census, the AmericasBarometer uses the locally recognized categories of *blanca*, *India*, *negra*, *mulata*, and *indigena*.⁸⁶ In Brazil, the response options are like those of its national census and are in Portuguese: *branca* (white), *preta* (black), *parda* (brown or mixed race), *amarella* (Asian), and *indigena* (indigenous).

Skin color ratings are common in many surveys about racial discrimination and racial attitudes in the United States but have rarely been used in Latin America. The availability of a variable denoting skin color as observed by the

84. The AmericasBarometer field staff in Guatemala, as well as the literature we examined, suggest that very few Guatemalans would identify as white. Unlike any other Latin American country, Guatemalan censuses have regularly used the ladino/indigenous classification since 1897, when it fused the white and mestizo categories. See Loveman, "Whiteness in Latin America: Measurement and Meaning." A similar ladino/indigenous categorization was used in the 1950 Honduran census, and the 1950 Bolivian census used an indigenous/nonindigenous scheme. See Loveman, "Whiteness in Latin America: Measurement and Meaning"; Euraque, "La construcción del mestizaje."

85. The question in Spanish is "¿Usted se considera una persona blanca, mestiza, indigena, negra, mulata u otra?"

86. The common racial categories in the Dominican Republic are unlike those of most other Latin American countries and have to do with the country's distinct history, especially its complicated history with neighboring Haiti and Haitians, who are considered black in contrast to Dominicans. See Ginetta E. B. Candelario, *Black behind the Ears: Dominican Racial Identity from Museums to Beauty Shops* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2007); Ernesto Sagás, "The 2004 Presidential Election in the Dominican Republic," *Electoral Studies* 24, no. 1 (2005): 156–60.

interviewer allows us to reasonably fix actual skin tone, which, by definition, would seem to be the primary factor accounting for identification as white. Interviewers in the AmericasBarometer rated the skin color of each respondent according to a skin color palette comprised of 11 skin tones, numbered from 1 to 11 based on increasing darkness of skin tone.⁸⁷ Interviewers were advised that we were interested in rating skin color because social science evidence has shown that ordinary people commonly evaluate the skin color of others in everyday interactions and often treat them according to ideas based on color and race. Moreover, interviewers were trained to familiarize themselves with the palette and to rate the color of the respondent's face according to the most proximate color on the palette without showing it to the respondent. The palette itself was extensively pretested and created using a wide range of skin colors found in Internet photographs.

Though such skin color evaluations by interviewers are not perfect by any means, we believe they closely capture respondents' actual color, as we will illustrate by highlighting their high correlation with ethnoracial identity in table 1 and figure 1. Certainly, other phenotypic characteristics, such as facial features and hair, might also affect racial classification, but data on these are not available. However, we expect that they are likely to be closely correlated with skin color.

Individual-Level Variables

We expect that skin color will, of course, be closely related to self-identification as white, but in addition we also hypothesize that white identity may be influenced by education, age, gender, and rural residence. Given the attention paid to the effects of status on racial classification, we test whether levels of education contribute to classification as white. Education is based on three groups: primary education and less, junior high school and high school, and some college and above. By regressing identification as white on completed years of schooling, we thus assess the independent effect of educational level on identifying as white, while holding skin color, age, gender, and rural residence, along with country of residence, constant. Our hypothesis is that persons of higher social strata are more likely to identify as white, which is consistent with a "money (or status) whitens" hypothesis. There have been no systematic cross-national comparisons of this phenomenon, as far as we know.

87. The actual color palette can be viewed at <http://perla.princeton.edu/perla-color-palette>.

We also test the statistical effects of age, gender, and rural residence on racial self-identification. While these factors are known to affect many social, economic, and political behaviors, little is known about their effect on racial identity. Age is a continuous variable, gender is a dichotomous variable (women/men) in which we present the coefficient for women in the model, and type of residence is also a dichotomous variable (rural/urban) in which we present the coefficient for rural residence.

Regarding age, Simon Schwartzman found in a national 1998 survey that younger persons in Brazil are less likely to identify as white and more likely to classify themselves in the nonwhite categories,⁸⁸ apparently because the latter have become less stigmatized and blackness has become an integral part of Brazilian youth culture.⁸⁹ We would expect that young persons or those with recent college experience would be especially likely to identify as nonwhite in Brazil because of affirmative action.

We could not find any research on how gender and rural residence affect white racial identity, though there is some evidence about the effect of gender on indigenous and black identity. Ethnographic studies have shown that women are especially likely to “perform” indigeneity or to make their indigenous identities more visible,⁹⁰ suggesting a heightened indigenous identity and a desire to draw clear ethnic distinctions from others. Edward Telles finds that dark-skinned women in Brazil are less likely to be classified in the *preto* (black) category than men because it is considered particularly offensive when applied to women, but this did not seem to affect identity as white.⁹¹ Finally, rural residence might represent characteristics that affect racial identity such as ties to land and indigeneity, more conservative values, and distance from modern influences, and it might be an important control regarding the amount of exposure to sun, which we discuss later.

88. Simon Schwartzman, “Fora de foco: Diversidade e identidades étnicas no Brasil,” *Novos Estudos CEBRAP* 55 (1999): 83–96.

89. Livio Sansone, *Blackness without Ethnicity: Constructing Race in Brazil* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

90. De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*; Sarah D. Warren, “How Will We Recognize Each Other as Mapuche? Gender and Ethnic Identity Performances in Argentina,” *Gender and Society* 23, no. 6 (2009): 768–89.

91. Telles, “Racial Ambiguity.”

National Variation

A major innovation in this essay is to examine whether identification as white varies by country. Racial identification seems to have been subject to national strategies and constructions of race. Given the lack of cross-national studies of classification in Latin America, the influence of national strategies on individual classification has been missed (as far as we know), though historical research provides many clues. For example, it remains a question whether countries like Mexico and Brazil, where ideas of race mixture replaced ideas of whitening, have a greater tendency for individuals to identify as mestizo or mixed race than countries like Argentina and Costa Rica, where mestizaje ideologies did not take hold.

Findings

According to the censuses and national surveys, the white population varies widely across Latin America. The second column of table 1 shows the percentage of the population identifying as white among the 17 countries in this study, while the fifth column shows the mean skin color rating for each country. The white percentage is based on the 2000 round of censuses in the countries where they are available (Brazil, Ecuador, and El Salvador) and on the Americas-Barometer/LAPOP data in the remaining 14 countries. The percentage of the population that self-identifies as white ranges from 73 percent in Argentina to 7 percent in Bolivia. Other countries with majority white populations are, by order of white proportion, Uruguay, Chile, Brazil, and Costa Rica. Countries with less than 15 percent white population also include the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, and Peru.

Note that the numbers from the surveys, though random or nationally representative, do not document the exact racial composition, or any other variable, as would be documented by the census. Rather, for a random survey of 1,500 persons, these numbers are estimates that lie within a margin of error of plus or minus 2.5 percentage points at most. According to statistical theory, that margin is based on a 95 percent degree of confidence. Thus a finding of a 10 percent white population in the Dominican Republic means that if a census with 100 percent national coverage were conducted at the same time using the exact same question and response categories, we can be fairly confident that the actual proportion would be somewhere in the range of 7 to 13 percent, 95 percent of the time.

Table 1 also shows the mean and standard deviation of skin color ratings

Table 1. Percentage of national populations that identify as white and summary statistics of their skin color and that of the national population for 17 Latin American countries in 2010

Country	Population identifying as white (%)	Skin color for whites		Skin color for national population	
		Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation
Argentina	73	3.0	1.1	3.2	1.3
Bolivia	7	3.3	1.6	5.0	1.5
Brazil	53.7	3.0	1.3	4.5	2.0
Chile	63	3.0	1.3	3.4	1.3
Colombia	32	3.0	1.1	4.1	1.4
Costa Rica	52	3.7	1.1	4.5	1.4
Dominican Republic	10	3.2	1.2	5.0	1.8
Ecuador	10.4	2.9	1.2	4.1	1.4
El Salvador	12.7	3.4	1.2	4.4	1.4
Honduras	28	3.2	0.8	4.7	1.8
Mexico	17	2.9	1.3	4.1	1.5
Nicaragua	18	3.8	0.9	4.8	1.4
Panama	32	3.1	1.0	5.0	2.0
Paraguay	31	3.7	1.2	4.6	1.4
Peru	13	3.1	1.2	4.2	1.4
Uruguay	72	3.0	1.2	3.5	1.5
Venezuela	34	2.9	1.2	4.4	1.7

Source: 2010 AmericasBarometer for most figures; the percentages for white identity in Brazil, Ecuador, and El Salvador are based on most recent census estimates.

for whites and for each national population, according to the LAPOP surveys. For the mean skin color rating of whites, most of the countries fall tightly near 3 (a pinkish-brown category), specifically between 2.9 and 3.2. The standard deviations range from 0.8 in Honduras and 0.9 in Nicaragua to 1.6 in Bolivia, which is illustrated in the shapes of the white distributions in figure 1. Table 1 suggests that the color mean of whiteness is somewhat consistent across the region, falling between 2.9 and 3.8, with those scoring higher than 3.1 being only relatively small countries. Indeed, the average falls in the narrow range between 2.9 and 3.1 in the seven largest countries in Latin America (Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, and Chile), although there is variation in the range around the means. Thus for the region as a whole and for

all the large countries, whiteness seems to have a fairly common meaning and practice, at least in terms of skin tone, and would thus seem to function as a recognizable transnational category. One would not necessarily have expected this, given the literature's emphasis on the malleability of racial identities in different contexts. However, the multivariate analysis suggests greater national variation once the relevant variables are controlled.

The last two columns of table 1 reveal the mean skin color rating of the national population and its standard deviation, which illustrates the extent of color diversity in each country. The skin color mean and standard deviation of the Argentine population in general is similar to that for whites, reflecting the fact that the large majority of that country's population identifies as white and that there is relatively little deviation from that somatic norm. Chile is close to Argentina in the amount of somatic lightness among the population. Uruguay is also in the 3s in average skin tone, though the mean is a bit darker due to a small Afro-descendant population; for this reason, there is somewhat more dispersal around the mean than in Argentina and Chile.⁹² In contrast, Bolivians, Dominicans, and Panamanians have the darkest mean skin tones at about 5 (a light medium-brown color). This reflects the largest nonwhite populations in Latin America in the first two countries and the proportionately largest self-identified black population, at 15 percent, in Panama. All other countries have skin tone means which fall in the 4s. With a standard deviation of 2.0, Brazil and Panama have the greatest color diversity in the region.

We present the distribution of ethnoracial identity along the 11 tones of the color palette with a series of line graphs for each country in figure 1. We present the distributions for persons identifying as white, mestizo, indigenous, mulatto/pardo, or black if persons identifying as such numbered at least 3 percent, which is about 50 persons in most countries. To the mulatto distributions we added morenos in the Venezuelan case and indios in the Dominican case. The individual graphs generally show normal or bell-shaped distributions for each ethnoracial category along the skin color ratings, reflecting the fact that race and ethnicity are related to color. The width of the distributions reflects the color diversity of each group.

Furthermore, the ethnoracial distributions overlap significantly on the skin color continuum, revealing porousness or ambiguity among the categories. However, persons identifying as white are clearly in the lightest range, almost always falling within the 1 to 4 rating. Figure 1 shows, however, that a

92. George Reid Andrews, *Blackness in the White Nation: A History of Afro-Uruguay* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2010).

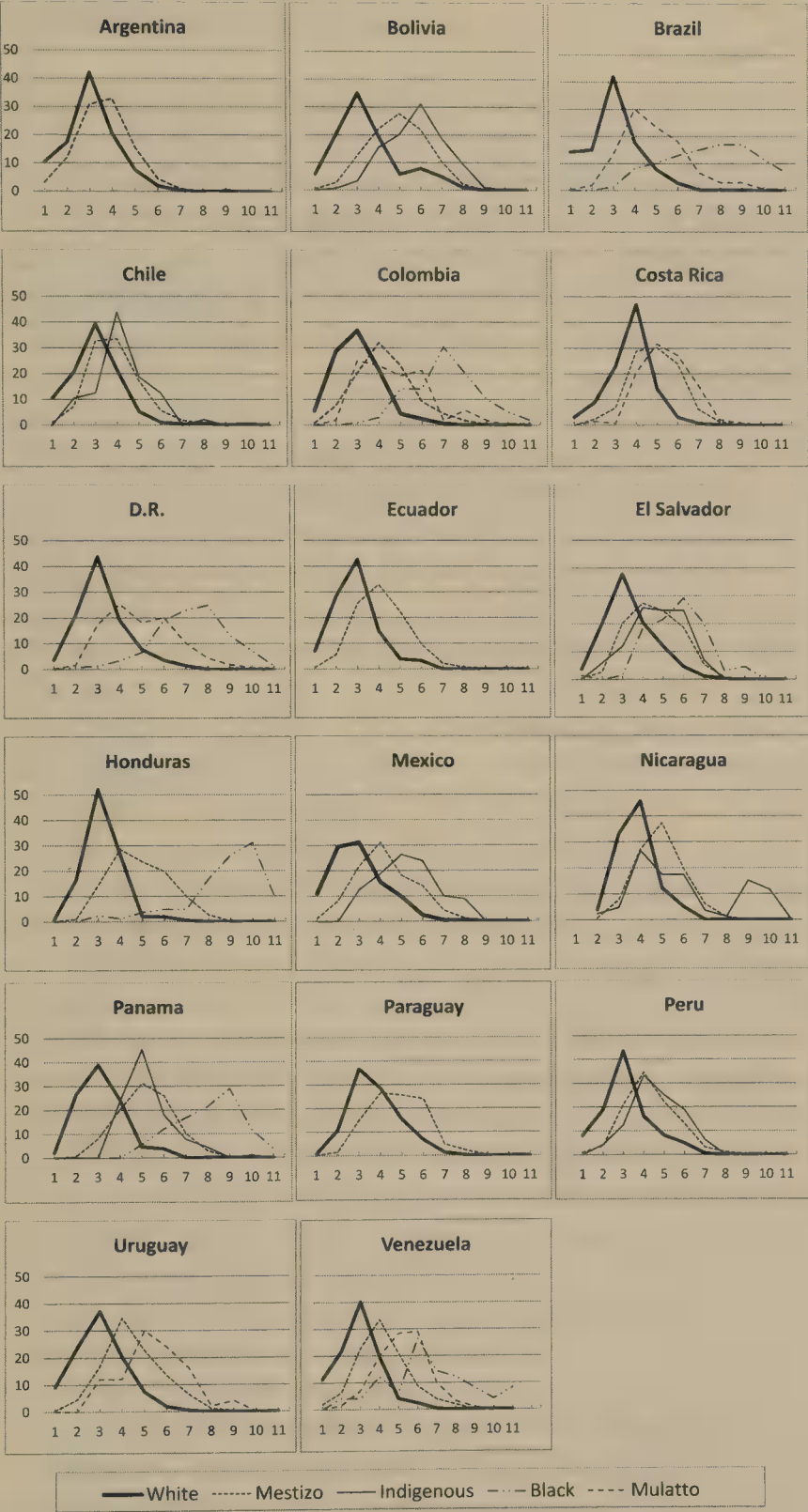


Figure 1. Distribution of ethnoracial groups by skin color rating. The mulatto category includes morenos in Venezuela and mestizos/indios in the Dominican Republic.

considerable number (10 percent or more) of darker persons in the sample also identified as white in Mexico, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Bolivia, and the Dominican Republic. As expected, the mestizo category was generally the middle category in actual color, although it largely overlapped with the indigenous and mulatto categories but showed relatively little overlap with the black category. Although persons with a rating of 1–3 were nearly always white, many persons with a skin color rating of 4 identified as white, but often they identified as mestizo or even indigenous.

So far, we have described ethnoracial distributions across a series of countries. We now proceed to examine how these ethnoracial identities are distributed among segments of the population from the 17 Latin American countries, represented in table 2. We utilize a multivariate statistical method known as logit regression, which enables us to analyze how a set of individual and national variables is or is not related to classification as white. Our model in table 2 pools data from all the countries and regresses whether one identifies as white on individual demographic characteristics (color, sex, age, education, and rural residence) as well as country of residence.

The regression model in table 2 reveals that across the region, four individual-level variables—color, age, education, and the skin color of the interviewer—are significantly correlated with identification as white. Color is negatively correlated with identification as white at very high levels of statistical significance, as expected. This strongly suggests that being light skinned is a strong predictor of whether one identifies as white in Latin America and supports the findings from figures 1 and 2. However, it is not the only variable that affects self-identification as white. Age is positively correlated and education is negatively correlated with identification as white at statistically significant levels. Thus older persons are more likely to identify as white, suggesting that there is a tendency for younger people to identify in nonwhite categories. Persons with relatively high levels of education are less likely to identify as white than persons of low education, which runs counter to a “money (or status) whitens” hypothesis. In addition, the color of the interviewer was positively correlated with self-identification as white, meaning that respondents were more likely to identify as white in the presence of darker interviewers. However, the statistical effect of interviewer color is less than one-tenth the size of the effect of the respondent’s color, suggesting that it makes some difference but nowhere near the difference that the respondent’s color does. In contrast to these variables that patterned white self-identity, gender and rural residence had no effect. The summary Wald and Pseudo- R^2 tests reveal that our model strongly predicts the pattern of white identity in the data.

Table 2. Logit regression results: 2010 LAPOP

Variable	Model 1	
	Coefficient	Standard error
<i>Education</i>		
(reference=Elementary School)		
Junior High / High School	-.027	0.043
Some College and up	-.144**	0.052
<i>Women</i>		
	.025	0.033
<i>Age</i>		
	.003***	0.001
<i>Urban</i>		
	-.007	0.041
<i>Respondent Skin Color</i>		
	-.971***	0.017
<i>Survey Taker Skin Color</i>		
	.126***	0.013
<i>Countries</i>		
(reference=Brazil)		
Argentina	1.064***	0.091
Bolivia	-1.946***	0.110
Chile	.637***	0.085
Colombia	-.695***	0.087
Costa Rica	.904***	0.081
Dominican Republic	-1.785***	0.111
Ecuador	-2.022***	0.091
El Salvador	-.883***	0.090
Honduras	-.312***	0.081
Mexico	-1.625***	0.096
Nicaragua	-.764***	0.093
Panama	.011	0.083
Paraguay	-.117	0.086
Peru	-1.719***	0.101
Uruguay	1.200***	0.085
Venezuela	-.165*	0.081
Intercept	2.747	0.116
N	29936	
Pseudo R ²	.333	
Wald Chi Square Test		5335.05***

Source: 2010 AmericasBarometer.

* p<0.05 ** p<0.01 ***p<0.001

Moreover, table 2 shows wide national variation in the tendency to identify as white, while statistically controlling for the individual-level characteristics. That is, identification as white varies across national contexts for persons of the same color, education, age, and other demographic characteristics. The positive or negative coefficients associated with each country are in comparison to Bra-

zil, which is the omitted or reference category in the regression model. Bolivia, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Peru, Mexico, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Colombia, and Venezuela are negative and statistically significant, revealing that their citizens are less likely than Brazilians to identify as white, controlling for all other variables in the regression. Paraguay and Panama are not statistically significant, so they are roughly the same as Brazil. In Chile, Costa Rica, Uruguay, and Argentina, though, identification as white is positive and thus more likely than in Brazil. Among those countries, there are several levels in the extent to which they identify as white. Using predicted probabilities, we illustrate country differences in figure 2.

For figures 2 to 4, we calculate the probability that a person whose skin color is rated 4 (a light brown color) would identify as white overall in each country (figure 2), for persons with low levels of schooling compared to high levels (figure 3), and for young persons compared to older persons (figure 4). We base these calculations on regression models like the one in table 2 but run these regressions separately for each country. We calculate the probabilities for persons whose skin color is rated 4 since it is the color point where the distribution of persons identifying as white is most likely to overlap with persons identifying as mestizo, as the illustrations in figure 1 demonstrated. We control the other variables by using the mean values of the pooled sample to calculate the predicted probabilities.

The bar chart in figure 2 shows a strikingly large variation across countries. Most Argentines, Uruguayans, Costa Ricans, and Chileans with a skin color rating of 4 identified as white. Indeed, nearly 70 percent of Argentines and Uruguayans of this skin color identified as white. This contrasts with only about 10 percent or less of similarly skin-toned Mexicans, Peruvians, Dominicans, Ecuadorians, and Bolivians. The first group is from countries of mostly European origin, while the latter group is from countries of mostly European and indigenous mixture, except for the Dominican Republic. The remaining countries are intermediate, with nearly 40 percent of such Brazilians identifying as white compared to about 20 percent of Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, and Hondurans. With the exception of the Dominican Republic, this generally supports the pattern that the populations of places with indigenous/white mixture are the least likely to identify as white, while those residing in countries with large white populations are the most likely. Colombia, Venezuela, Paraguay, Panama, and Brazil all lie in the 25 to 40 percent range.

We assume that the general Latin American pattern of the statistical effects of sociodemographic factors like age and education on racial self-identification

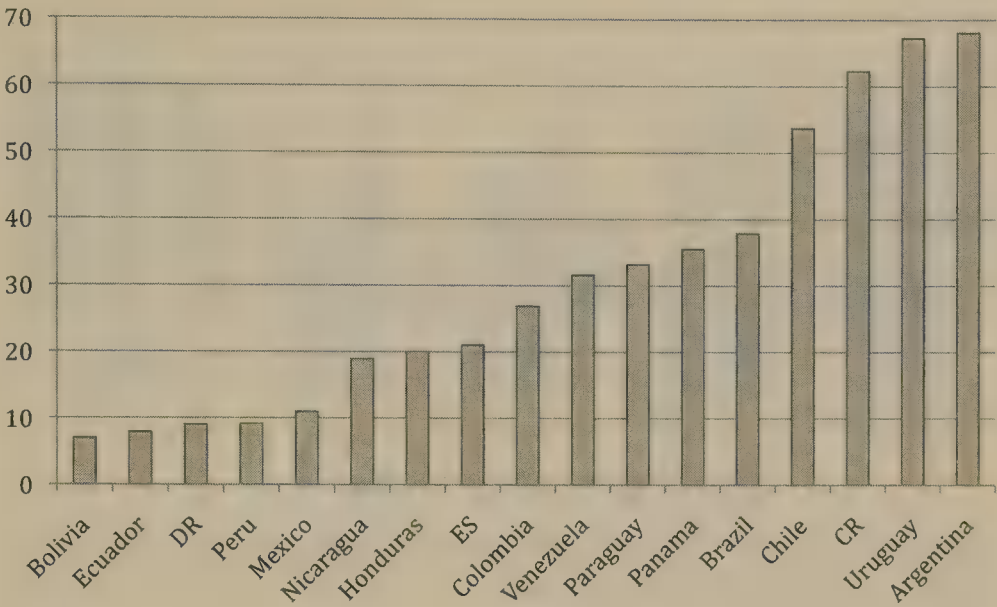


Figure 2. Percentage of persons with light brown skin color (#4) who identify as white in 17 Latin American countries. Based on regressions for each country with data from 2010 AmericasBarometer.

may be distinct in particular countries. To better understand how identification as white might differ across countries, we ran similar logit regression analyses for each country. We do not show these regressions for all 17 countries for reasons of space, but we summarize the results through predicted probabilities of the two significant variables: age and education. Based on those regressions, we predict the probability that a person whose skin color is rated 4 identifies as white by age (figure 4) and by education (figure 3). For age, we compare 25 and 50 year olds. For education, we compare those respondents with at least one year of college education and up (13 years of education and up) with those who have elementary school education or less (0 to 6 years).

Our regression results for individual countries (not shown) revealed that the individual-level variables often, but not always, mirror the overall pattern as shown in table 2, where age and education were correlated with who identifies as white. Education was significant in 12 of the 17 countries, although the direction of the association was mixed. Age was also significant in five countries, where persons of older age were more likely to self-identify as white. Gender and rural residence are mostly statistically insignificant, as the Latin America regionwide model in table 2 showed. They are significantly correlated with

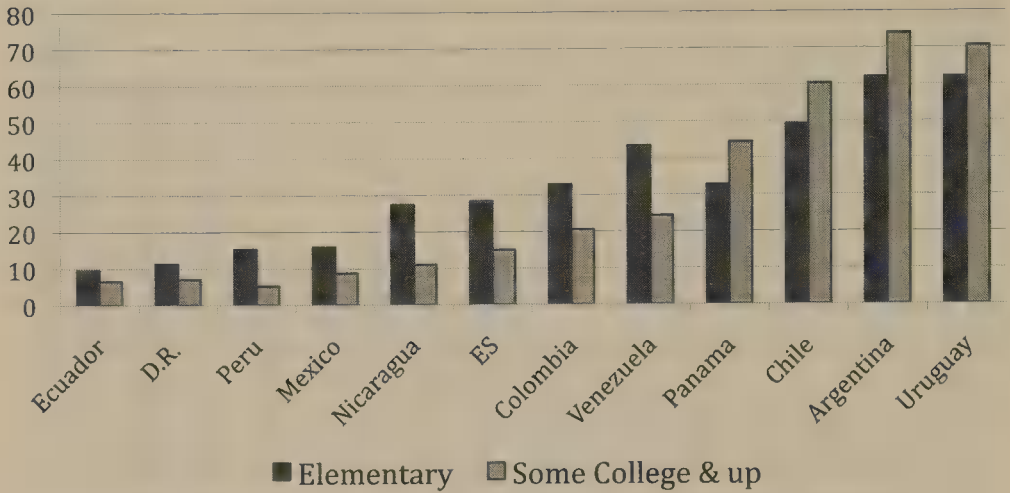


Figure 3. Percentages of persons with light brown skin color (#4) who identify as white at elementary and college levels of education. Based on regressions for each country with data from 2010 AmericasBarometer.

white identity in only three or four countries, and their direction is mixed for those cases.

We find that educational level is a strong predictor in 12 countries. Figure 3 shows that highly educated persons with skin color rated as 4 or more are likely to self-identify as white in Panama, Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina. On the other hand, highly educated respondents with similar skin tones in Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Peru, Mexico, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Colombia, and Venezuela are less likely to identify as white, with varying differences. Lower-educated Peruvians and Nicaraguans are at least twice as likely to identify as white as their higher-educated conationals. Overall, a status-darkening effect appears in Mesoamerica, the Andes, and the Dominican Republic, while a status-whitening effect is consistently found in the countries of the Southern Cone and Panama.

Figure 4, which summarizes regression results for age, shows that older persons are more likely to identify as white in Costa Rica, Uruguay, Chile, and Brazil but less likely to identify as white in Peru. For Brazil, this further confirms a well-documented tendency away from white identity and toward nonwhite identities in that country. In Chile, Uruguay, and Costa Rica, the age effect suggests a shift away from the strongly held white identities of these countries. On the other hand, Peru, where younger persons are more likely to identify as white, seems to be an anomaly.

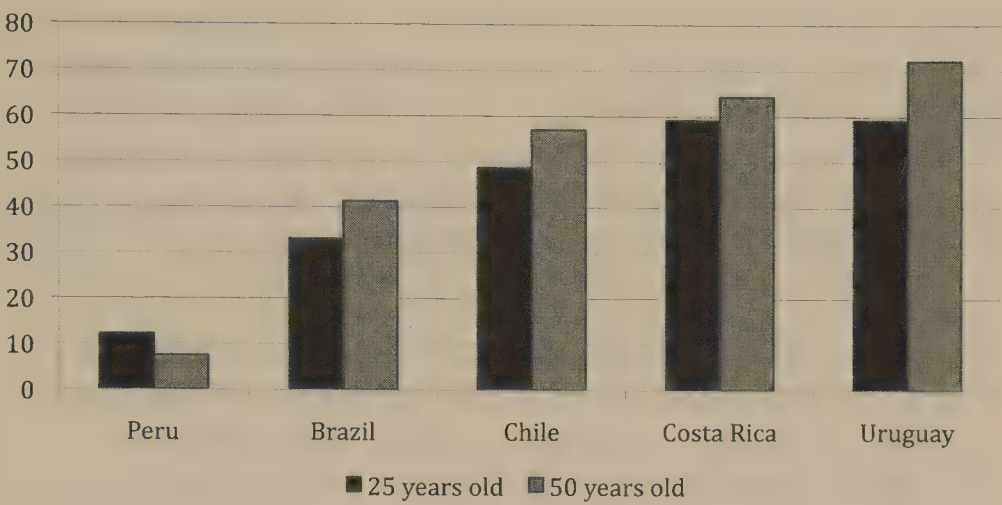


Figure 4. Percentages of persons with light brown skin color (#4) who identify as white among 25 and 50 year olds. Based on regressions for each country with data from 2010 AmericasBarometer.

Discussion

This study has shown that identifying as white, although constrained by skin color, is also shaped by age, education, and national context, as well as by the color of those one is interacting with. We treat identification as white as a social outcome, subject to physical and social influences, rather than as a fixed and self-evident determinant of social status or behavior, the way it is commonly used in the statistical and status-attainment literatures. We show that who is white is not self-evident, as has often been assumed in the past, but that it is subject to social and historical forces. Moreover, our findings have revealed the wide diversity in the region regarding who identifies as white. Racial classification based on the experience of a town, a province, or even an entire country cannot be generalized to all of Latin America. Explanations that work for one country may not work for another. We believe that our findings are robust, as they are based on the systematic analysis of nationally representative data for 17 of the 19 Latin American countries.

Nation

Our findings show that the white composition in Latin American countries is not merely a reflection of the population’s actual skin color but that it also depends on the propensity of similarly skin-toned persons to identify as white,

which varies widely by country. Thus whiteness is not self-evident; rather, it seems to be largely shaped by the nation and its history, racial ideologies, racial composition, and norms of behavior.

Specifically, our findings show that whiteness is a particularly capacious concept in the mostly white nations of Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and Costa Rica, where white identity occurs among many light brown persons who would identify as mestizo in the rest of Latin America. Certainly, the population of those countries tends to have more people of light skin color, but our findings suggest that the ideologies of these countries, whose elites have imagined their nations as white in contrast to other countries of the region, have also led to a more common identification as white, adjusting for actual color differences. These ideologies seem to have made white a normative social classification among persons having a relatively wide range of skin colors.⁹³ In addition to the apparent successes in attracting large numbers of European immigrants, the relatively large size of the white population of these countries, as measured by censuses or surveys, also reflects a greater propensity for light brown persons to identify as white.

We hypothesized that light or light brown persons would be least likely to identify as white in countries with strong mestizaje ideologies, like Mexico and Brazil, compared to countries where mestizaje ideologies were not widely promoted, like Argentina. Our data support this contention to some extent when comparing those three countries. Mexico probably had the strongest mestizaje ideology, and the likelihood of classification as mestizo (rather than white) is greatest in that country. However, we do not have a good sense of the relative strength of these ideologies across the full range of countries in Latin America. The type of mestizaje, whether involving mostly indigenous or mostly black people, may make a difference. Identification as white appears to be stronger in countries where there is more mixture with Afro-descendants, such as Brazil and Panama, than in countries with significant indigenous populations and mixture with the indigenous population, such as Bolivia, Peru, and Mexico. This might seem to run contrary to an expectation that predominant mixture with the indigenous (commonly called mestizos) would be more acceptable as white than would mixture with African origin (*mulatos*). However, one could argue that a greater tendency to identify as white in largely Afro-descendant countries may reflect a greater distancing from the more stigmatized black other compared to the indigenous other. In other words, the greater propensity

93. This is consistent with Mauricio Meléndez Obando's claim that Costa Ricans will be especially likely to identify as white. See Meléndez Obando, "Presencia de Africa."

to identify as white in Brazil may be because not doing so usually means being mulatto, the other side of the white/nonwhite boundary, whereas in Mexico, the white/nonwhite boundary is usually a white/mestizo boundary, making the choice arguably less consequential.

A reading of the historical literature, though, demonstrates that national ideologies of race were largely developed in relation to racial composition and the extent of indigenous or African admixture, so that explanations based on *mestizaje* probably overlap with those based on relational classification and mixture, which we have discussed. For example, perhaps national elites found it more acceptable to emphasize hybrid (or nonwhite) identities when the mixture was mostly with the indigenous, as a *mestizo* identity may have been preferable to a mulatto identity as the foundation of the country's imagined heritage. Also, elites often recognized the historical and cultural contributions of the indigenous while rarely extending such recognition to Africans (though Brazil may be an exception). Mixture with indigenous people may have led to emphasizing *mestizaje*, but mixture with Africans may have led to a greater emphasis on whiteness among those people that could physically claim whiteness. In contrast, the propensity to identify as white is particularly strong in Costa Rica and Argentina, where elites were often opposed to *mestizaje*.

The Dominican Republic, with its large African population but low likelihood of a white identity, might seem to be an exception. However, it is actually consistent in the sense that the national narrative promoted by Dominican elites actually embraced an indigenous past as its sole nonwhite heritage, despite the large presence of Afro-descendants. Rather, blackness was relegated to its historical adversary and neighbor, Haiti. Only Haitians and their descendants could be considered black in the Dominican Republic, while the majority of Dominicans were racially considered *indio*.

Age

Our findings for age show that younger Latin Americans tend to be less likely to identify as white compared to their older conationals. This may reflect the beginnings of the societal shift toward multiculturalism and the globalization of popular culture, though it could also be a function of promoting oneself as white for better success in the labor market. Although the value of whiteness continues to be great throughout the region, persons who are on the margins of a white skin color but who might have some attachment to black, indigenous, or mixed-race identities may feel more comfortable today about identifying as nonwhite because of the influence of multiculturalism and popular culture in

valuing these categories. This may be particularly true for younger persons, who have more exposure to the Internet, television, and new technologies and live in an age when identities are more flexible and in the process of consolidation. Although they probably understand the privileges that come with white identity, they may also believe it is less important to identify that way than it was for their parents' generation.

This age trend is especially apparent in Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, and Costa Rica, suggesting that the capacious boundaries we found for whiteness in the white nations seem to be contracting. Younger people in these countries who are light brown in color are more likely to identify as mestizo or pardo (or even as indigenous in Chile) than their older counterparts. In other words, the especially strong normative incentives to identify as white in these countries appear to be weakening for the younger cohorts, whose major period of identity formation has occurred roughly 20 years after the older cohort. The finding for Brazil may also be related to the national trend of darkening, especially by younger persons who are entering the university or the labor market, where affirmative action may be available.

The lack of a whitening effect by age in other countries may suggest that multiculturalism has not had much of a racial identification effect in those countries, but compared to the Southern Cone countries, identity as nonwhite for persons near the white/nonwhite boundary was already more common. A positive correlation between age and white identity occurred only in Peru, and we might venture an explanation for this. As has been documented by Deborah Yashar as well as Nancy Grey Postero and Leon Zamosc, Peru is the one country with a significant indigenous population where strong mobilization as indigenous peoples did not occur in recent decades.⁹⁴ The lack of a strong indigenous movement promoting indigenous or even mestizo identities may have also permitted the expansion of white identification among the younger generation of Peruvians.

Education

When taken as a whole, college-educated persons in Latin America today are less likely to identify as white compared to those with only a primary school education. This runs counter to the popular "money (or status) whitens" claim.

94. Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America*; Nancy Grey Postero and Leon Zamosc, eds., *The Struggle for Indigenous Rights in Latin America* (Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2004).

However, when we examine countries separately, we find status darkening in 8 of the 17 countries and status whitening in 4, while we failed to find a relation between educational status and white identity in the remaining 5. George Reid Andrews argues that within Latin America there is more resistance to non-whites in middle-class occupations, which may suggest that higher-educated persons have more incentives to identify as white than their less-educated counterparts.⁹⁵ Also, Andrews's claim may be based largely on the countries he studied, particularly Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. Indeed, we found that money or status whitens only in the white nations of Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile, as well as in Panama. However, we found no class effect in Brazil, which may have changed since affirmative action began a decade ago, and we found a money-whitening effect in Argentina and Uruguay.

The status-darkening effect that we find in about half of the countries makes sense if we think of whiteness as symbolic capital. For the low-educated or poor, the whiteness or near-whiteness of light skin-colored persons may be the only such capital they own, and thus they give it greater value, especially in contrast to a middle-class person whose light skin color is certainly important but of less relative value. Reports of a money-whitening effect also tend to be based on evidence such as respondent accounts or popular sayings. Systematic data on this relation are rare.⁹⁶

95. George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800–2000* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2004), 179–82.

96. Another potential explanation is that persons with low educational status are more likely to work outdoors and thus are more exposed to the sun, which would make them darker. Thus, their identification as white would be more consistent with reporting their “real color.” But we think this explanation does not hold up to closer inspection. (This concern was raised by a comment made by a respondent in a pretest of the questionnaire when the interviewer asked her to rate her own color. She noted that this is not her real color under her clothes, as the sun had darkened her.) One would expect that persons with rural residence would be most exposed to working and living in sunlight, so that their “real color” would be whiter, but our results showed that there was no relation between rural residence and identification as white. It is important to also note that even a tanned color generally would be the color by which such individuals are generally seen by the rest of society. Although it is not clear whether identification as white would be based on that color or on their real color—which they know but most others do not—we suspect that their facial color, which we captured, is at least as important as their “real color.” We were also concerned that a money-whitening finding might be the result of greater mixture among the working classes and poor, and thus higher-status persons may have whitened more simply because of a whiter and especially non-African phenotype based on features other than color, like hair texture. However, the results often ran in the opposite direction, suggesting a robust result. Moreover, we show that socioeconomic

Finally, assertions of a money-whitening effect tend to date from earlier historical periods, leading us to hypothesize that recent shifts to the new multiculturalism and racial politics in the region may have weakened or even reversed the incentives to whiten. Instead of whitening being associated with higher class status, we now find evidence of racial darkening at higher status levels, especially among the young. The case of Brazil, where the new racial politics seems most entrenched, is illustrative. There, higher-educated persons on the physical border between white and nonwhite may be increasingly likely to identify as nonwhite, especially since they may be more attuned to racial politics than the less educated. And if we factor in the possible incentives offered by affirmative action policies in university admissions and white-collar employment, motives for identifying as nonwhite at higher status levels become even more compelling.⁹⁷

Finally, the pooled regressions suggested that respondents are more likely to identify as white in the presence of darker-skinned interviewers. We do not compare countries on this variable in separate regressions or predicted probabilities mostly for reasons of space, but suffice it to say that the positive correlation held up in most countries. As for educational status, this finding also suggests a relational effect. Persons on the border of white and mestizo categories are more likely to identify as white when the other person better fits the mestizo or other nonwhite category.

Conclusions

Virtually all Latin American nations have significant white populations, despite mestizaje ideologies that may suggest otherwise. However, whiteness is not the same across nations or in different age or educational strata, just as it probably has not been the same across historical periods. We do not have direct historical data, but we show cross-national differences that help explain historical change as well as age differences, which help to illuminate more recent changes. Many of our findings seem to reflect the transition from mestizaje to multiculturalism,

status is strongly correlated with color for office workers, who we assume work indoors. Edward E. Telles, "A Test That Sun Exposure Does Not Affect Latin America's 'Pigmentocracy' as Measured by the PERLA Color Palette," *PERLA* (blog), 23 May 2012, <http://perla.princeton.edu/palettetest/>.

97. Francis and Tannuri-Pianto, "Endogenous Race in Brazil."

the nature of which varies widely across Latin American nations. The historical shift to multiculturalism throughout the region appears to be creating new incentives and disincentives to identify as white. Although it always has been at the top of the region's racial hierarchy, the category of *white* is likely to have expanded and contracted within and across historical periods. Strong whitening ideologies are likely to have expanded the white category, while ideologies of *mestizaje* are likely to have contracted it. Overall, it seems that the new context of multiculturalism may also be initiating a period of white contraction and nonwhite expansion as a result of changing incentives, norms, and behaviors regarding racial identity and classification.

Although our findings are empirically limited to the present, we believe that our findings and the type of analysis we utilize may offer some insights for historians and other students of race in Latin America. These are:

1. Whiteness as a racial category and an identity has not received enough attention in the historical literature. Greater attention has been paid to Afro-descendant, indigenous, and mixed-raced peoples, even though white elites have been largely responsible for the identification of people by race and the creation of racial hierarchies in the region.
2. Identification as white is ambiguous in Latin America, but probably less so than some social scientists had believed. Though there is ambiguity in white identification, there is also remarkable consistency across countries. Average skin color of self-identified whites is similar across countries, but there is sizeable variation in the span and characteristics of who is included in the white category.
3. Racial identification is affected by one's relation to others. In other words, to understand racial identification in Latin America, which is fluid and contextual, we need to understand the microlevel interactions that shape it. This is likely to also occur in classification by others, including designations in official records. The particular color or status of the designator may have affected the racial classification of the designated.
4. Class or social status shapes white identification, though, at least in the current period, class differences are not as great in influencing racial identification as often suspected and, more often than not, run in the opposite direction to the idea that money or status whitens. In about half of the countries, higher-educated people are less likely to identify as white, though this may be affected by the recent turn to

multiculturalism, in which nonwhite identities may have become less stigmatized. In the past, social status is likely to have affected racial designations, though we cannot be sure as to in which direction, even if we have accepted the idea that higher social status is likely to have lightened one's classification.

5. There are differences in white identification across national contexts. The white category is particularly capacious in the "white" nations, which is consistent with some historical evidence. National histories and ideologies, as well as racial composition, seem to strongly affect it. The general focus by historians and other analysts on a single country limits their ability to make such comparisons. The evidence in this article will hopefully provide a more comparative framework for such studies.
6. Our evidence based on age suggests that who identifies as white changes over time as the relative valorization of white and nonwhite categories changes. Evidence for the region as a whole and for several countries in particular reveal that younger persons are increasingly eschewing a white identity and increasingly accepting nonwhite identities, especially in Brazil. There may have been similar shifts in previous periods, as when strong whitening ideologies probably encouraged more people to identify in the lightest category that they could.
7. Multivariate methods reveal patterns in racial classification that are often not apparent in bivariate analysis. Certainly, statistical analysis of this sort may be limited to recent years, when large data sets are available, but perhaps an understanding of the ways that multiple variables, independently or in interaction with each other, shape outcomes such as white identity may be valuable for understanding social processes in the past.
8. Research based on nationally representative (random) samples provides an understanding of how people in all segments of society understand racial identification and other social phenomena. We have sought to explain the national differences we found largely by drawing on the historical literature, but there seems to be some disconnect between our findings and that literature. Some of this might be explained by recent changes, but we suspect that much of it might be due to differences between historical and sociological sources of data. While historians must make do with partial and fragmentary evidence of

racial identities in the past,⁹⁸ present-day social scientists can talk directly and interactively with their objects of study. While there may not be much we can do about this, historians and contemporary social analysts should be sensitive to these differences. An understanding of such disconnects today may help us to understand comparable disconnects between racial practices in the past and present.

9. Nevertheless, this study makes clear that historical research is necessary for understanding contemporary analysis of the kind we provide here. Without it, we are unable to comprehend many of our findings. Indeed, we need more of it to make sense of many of the comparative national findings, particularly in the small countries about which we know little. Integrating historical research and research of the present remains a major challenge.

98. An important exception by a historian proves our point. Douglas Cope convincingly argues that official or elite accounts did not reflect understandings of race among ordinary people in colonial Mexico City. See R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660–1720* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1994).

Huarpe Archives in the Argentine Desert: Indigenous Claims and State Construction in Nineteenth-Century Mendoza

Diego Escolar

A few months before he died in a working-class neighborhood of Mendoza, Argentina, Sixto Waldino Jofré ceremoniously gave me photocopies of a document he called “The Memoir.” It was a family heirloom that according to Jofré told “how the land has always belonged to the Huarpes.” It was a handwritten litany of a century of judicial battles fought by the Laguneros, people of the arid plains of Guanacache, in the north of the present province of Mendoza and the southern part of San Juan province. The key documents gave details of a lawsuit pursued in the 1830s by a *protector de indios* (a legal official appointed to guard the rights of indigenous people in the colonial era) to defend the lands of the Laguneros.

For more than a decade I had been doing research on how, in this region supposedly with no Indians, the identification of indigenous people and their discourses persisted and reappeared. I had seen some of the documents previously in the family collections of other Laguneros, who had commented in

Translated from the Spanish by Thomas Holloway.—eds.

The completion of this article would not have been possible without the trust of the Laguneros of Guanacache, particularly Sixto Jofré, Juan and Paulino Nievas, and Juan Nylo Reynoso, who not only received me in their homeland for more than a decade but also provided access to shared memories and writings about their history. An earlier version of this work was presented at the UC Berkeley Latin American History Working Group. I want to thank Tulio Halperin Donghi for his erudite comments and especially Mark Alan Healey for his informed discussion of my work, as well as his professionalism and friendship. I also want to express my profound gratitude to the two excellent outside readers whose close readings made it possible to improve this work substantially—one of whom, Ariel de la Fuente, chose to identify himself. Financial support for this project was provided by CONICET, the Agencia Nacional de Promoción Científica y Tecnológica, and the Fulbright Commission. I also thank Professor Thomas Holloway for his faithful translation of the original Spanish manuscript and *HAHR* managing editor Sean Mannion for his equally careful editing.

passing that “many people had died” to protect them. I had also seen comments by visitors to the area such as the archaeologist Salvador Debenedetti and the writer Alberto Castellanos, who claimed to have seen or heard about the documents in the 1920s. But contemplating this extensive collection of manuscripts copied by hand over many decades was a moving experience. It was impressive that the texts had been distributed and kept by different families, painstakingly reproduced by people who were nearly illiterate, scattered in an area of some 1,000,000 hectares, separated from one another by 5 to 20 kilometers of bad roads, where tiny hamlets began to be formed only in the past 20 years. Also remarkable was the clarity with which the documents revealed not only the discourses but also the concrete, sustained, and recognized claims by which the people of this arid expanse identified themselves as indigenous. The level of detail in the documents, the continuity of their claims for nearly two centuries, and their safekeeping in family archives in precarious outposts in the desert or poor urban neighborhoods all contrasted with the confidence with which the historical and anthropological literature had decreed the absence of indigenous identities in the area since the early colonial period. The silence of the academic discourse was deafening when compared to the information preserved by the efforts of native copyists.

The most complete collection of documents found to date is a sheaf of yellowed papers, some torn in half with parts of pages missing, which Juan Nievas kept in his house.¹ It had been given to him by relatives who had lived in Asunción, one of the three historical settlements of the Laguneros of the eighteenth century. It contains the following documents: first, the 1752 will of Jacinto Sayanca, a local cacique, bequeathing to his people a royal land grant that included nearly all the area of Las Lagunas; second, a lawsuit filed by the Protector de los Naturales de Las Lagunas from 1833 to 1835 to confirm the rights of the Laguneros to the land; and finally, a decree of 1838 by the government of Mendoza province recognizing the Laguneros’ possession since time immemorial of approximately 1,000,000 hectares of their land.

Later, in the Historical Archive of Mendoza, I found a petition submitted in 1879 by which the Laguneros again requested recognition of their rights to the land they occupied, adding as proof a complete copy of the lawsuit by the protector de indios of Las Lagunas from almost half a century earlier, the 1838 decree of recognition of possession, and the will and testament of the cacique

1. “Copia del Esped[. . .] de D. Juan Escalante en [. . .] los naturales de las Lagunas [. . .] de un decreto del Gobierno [. . .] do gracia de terrenos en favor de[. . .] rales i del Testamento del Casique [. . .] Don Jacinto Sayanca en 1752,” Mendoza, 3 May 1875, Archivo de Juan Nievas, Departamento de Lavalle.

Sayanca from the mid-eighteenth century.² In the same archive I also found other documents related to the case, including a history of claims made by the Laguneros in the same period, land surveys made by absentee landlords in the 1830s, and a request made by a new *protector* in the 1840s.

Finding copies in the Historical Archive of Mendoza of the same documents held by villagers in Las Lagunas made it possible to confirm that several copies had circulated since the nineteenth century. “The Memoir” of Sixto Jofré had been copied in 1928 by his father from another version held by a neighbor. Juan Nievas’s papers had been copied twice: there was a version dated 1874, based on another bearing a date from 1865. There is also evidence gathered by visitors to Guanacache referring to family archives held by people in the area in the early twentieth century. In 1925, three years before Sixto Jofré’s father had copied “The Memoir,” José Pozzi, an assistant of the Argentine archaeologist Salvador Debenedetti, wrote that Esteban González, whom he described as looking “very Indian,” claimed to have a copy of a document written by the cacique Sayanca in 1713 that granted to the local people 400 square leagues surrounding the present chapel of Rosario.³ A year later a local man showed another visitor the will and testament of the cacique Sayanca, owner of the countryside extending ten leagues “in all directions” from the Rosario chapel.⁴

The emergence of these documents in the early years of the twenty-first century coincided with an environment in Argentina favorable to the recognition of indigenous identities and rights and specifically for the reemergence of Huarpe identity in Cuyo. Since the late 1990s, in a rapid process set off by the social crisis in Argentina and the experience of the “retreat of the state” during the high point of neoliberal reforms, groups of people in the countryside and the urban middle class articulated claims for land and recognition of Huarpe identities.⁵ In 1999, 11 Huarpe communities were created in the Guanacache region. These new legal entities were based on a provision of the 1994 constitution that for the first time recognized the prior existence of indigenous peoples

2. “Defensa realizada por el Defensor de pobres y ausentes a los indios Laguneros,” Mendoza, 10 May 1879, Archivo Histórico de Mendoza (hereafter AHM), carpeta 575 bis, doc. 17.

3. Salvador Debenedetti, “XXIª Expedición del Museo Etnográfico de la Universidad de Buenos Aires a las Lagunas de Huanacache,” Buenos Aires, 1925, Archivo del Museo Etnográfico de la Universidad de Buenos Aires.

4. Alberto Castellanos, *Un viaje por las lagunas de Huanacache y el Desaguadero* (Buenos Aires: Sociedad Luz, 1926).

5. Diego Escolar, *Los dones étnicos de la nación: Identidades huarpe y modos de producción de soberanía en Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2007), 213.

in the Argentine nation. These communities demanded community property amounting to some 750,000 hectares from the government of Mendoza province, which recognized the legitimacy of their demand. After a contentious legal process and political disagreements among the communities and the main institutions allied with them, in 2011 the government issued title to 70,000 hectares to one of the communities, Lagunas del Rosario, in a disputed process of demarcation that left the land claims of ten other communities unresolved.

The significance of this research, aside from any modest contribution to traditional historiography, is to bring to light a historical record that is very important for the debates and discussions of present-day Huarpe communities. It demonstrates the historical continuity of the land claims by local indigenous communities in addition to the territorial extent of those claims, since at least the late colonial era.

From the Establishment of the Indian Communities to the First Liberal Reforms

For most historians, the main indigenous groups of the region, called Huarpes, had been extinguished in the seventeenth century by invading Spaniards, who took the Indians to work in the Central Valley or adjacent Norte Chico of Chile, or by the processes of race mixture and the “acculturation” of any survivors.⁶ The Cuyo region was colonized from Chile in the second half of the sixteenth century, beginning with the founding of the cities of Mendoza in 1561 and San Juan in 1562. The area that initially was called the Province of Guarpes extended from the Jáchal River in the north to the Diamante River in the south, a vast territory inhabited by several indigenous groups calculated at the time to number between 20,000 and 100,000 people. Cuyo was at first a *corregimiento*, or province, of the General Captaincy of Chile, and in 1776 it was included in the newly created Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata. The Guanacache area, almost equidistant between Mendoza and San Juan, was made up of many lakes and floodplains along the Mendoza and San Juan Rivers on the eastern slopes of the Andes. When the conquistadores arrived it was one of the most important concentrations of indigenous groups called Guarpes or Huarpes. During the

6. Salvador Canals Frau, “Etnología de los huarpes: Una síntesis,” *Anales del Instituto de Etnología Americana* 7 (1946): 9–147; Catalina Teresa Michieli, *Los huarpes protohistóricos* (San Juan, Argentina: Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas y Museo, 1983); María del Rosario Prieto, “El proceso de aculturación de los huarpes de Mendoza,” *Anales de Arqueología y Etnología* 29–31 (1976): 237–72.

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries encomiendas granted to Spaniards living in Chile led to the massive and brutal removal of many Huarpes to Chile, which gave rise to numerous complaints by priests⁷ and in turn fed the narrative of the extinction of the Huarpes. But Las Lagunas also became a refuge for those Huarpes who managed to evade colonial control. According to the folk traditions of Cuyo, an unknown number of mestizos, Spaniards, other indigenous peoples, and escaped African slaves also took refuge in the region.⁸ The hardships the Spaniards faced in making incursions into the area's shifting riverbeds, sand dunes, thorny forests, and clouds of insects all contributed to this process, as did the abundance of resources, including fish, game, salt, timber, and fruit, which made the local inhabitants relatively self-sufficient. By the early nineteenth century the area was known as the *partido* (territorial constituency) of Las Lagunas. Its main districts were San Miguel, Asunción, and Rosario, which had their origins in Indian towns established in the mid-eighteenth century.

In fact, despite the assumed disappearance of the Huarpes by the seventeenth century, there are many indications of the indigenous presence in Cuyo much later in time. Contradictory though it may seem, those who constructed or still support the narrative of Huarpe extinction created some of the evidence for confirming this presence.⁹ During the first two centuries following the conquest the colonial government created several *reducciones*, or forced concentrations, of the populations of Huarpes and Yacampis in northern Mendoza and San Juan and of Chiquillanes, Puelches, and Pampas Indians in central and

7. Alvaro Jara, "Importación de trabajadores indígenas en el siglo XVII," *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, no. 124 (1958): 177–212; José Aníbal Verdaguer, *Historia eclesiástica de Cuyo*, vol. 1 (Milan: Premiata Scuola Tipografica Salesiana, 1931).

8. Juan Draghi Lucero, *La cabra de plata* (Buenos Aires: Castañeda, 1978); Juan Biale Massé, *Informe sobre el estado de las clases obreras argentinas a comienzos de siglo: Selección* (1904; Buenos Aires: CEAL, 1985), 415–18.

9. On the construction of this narrative of extinction since the eighteenth century, despite the paradoxical incorporation and redefinition of information that contradicts it, see Escolar, *Los dones étnicos*. The recent work of Catalina Teresa Michieli reflects some of these contradictions. See Catalina Teresa Michieli, *Realidad socioeconómica de los indígenas de San Juan en el siglo XVII* (San Juan, Argentina: Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas y Museo, 1996); Catalina Teresa Michieli, *La fundación de villas de San Juan (siglo XVIII)* (Buenos Aires: Sociedad Argentina de Antropología, 2004). Although Michieli repeatedly affirms the extinction or assimilation of the Huarpes or Indians in the seventeenth century, her work contains abundant archival evidence of the continuity of group strategies, surnames, land conflicts, and markers of indigenous identity and no evidence to show their disappearance or complete assimilation.

southern Mendoza to the Diamante River, although many were discontinued or disappeared over time.¹⁰ In the eighteenth century, efforts redoubled to resettle the Indians and mestizos of the Cuyo countryside, forcibly if necessary. Beginning in 1748 the *junta de poblaciones* of Chile tried to have the Indians of Corocorto, Jáchal, Valle Fértil, and Las Lagunas concentrated into towns, and the diocese of Chile established a parish in Las Lagunas.¹¹ But to carry out those plans, the colonial government eventually negotiated with the native people, who for their part found the status of *pueblo de indios* advantageous for protecting their lands, because with it the government recognized both the land rights of Indians over specific areas and the legitimacy of native authorities. At the same time, the Indians resisted the creation of a *reducción* if it meant abandoning their custom of living in households scattered across the countryside. In 1751, for example, the indigenous people of Mogna and Ampacama, in northern San Juan, were notified that they were to group together to create the *villa* of Jáchal. The cacique of Mogna refused the order on the grounds that his pastures were in Mogna and that the priest had put him in charge of building a chapel there, which was part of the process of formally creating a *reducción*. The repeated refusal to move eventually resulted in the founding of a *pueblo de indios* in Mogna at the request of the cacique himself, who argued not only that the Indians had pasture and water sources there but also that in Mogna they could avoid mixing with Spaniards and mestizos. The town was duly established at the site the Indians already occupied, not in the location the colonial authorities had previously designated.¹²

The precarious control of the Cuyo countryside in the colonial era is apparent not only in the clear difficulty of forcibly resettling indigenous people in towns but also in the collection of tribute. The last known tribute lists for Cuyo date from the end of the seventeenth century, but then in the first half of the eighteenth century, due to resistance, the Indians had been offered exemption from tribute payment for a period of 20 years, in addition to the right to their

10. Verdaguer, *Historia eclesiástica de Cuyo*; María del Rosario Prieto, "Formación y consolidación de una sociedad en un área marginal del Reino de Chile: La provincia de Cuyo en el siglo XVII," *Anales de Arqueología y Etnología* 52–53 (1997–1998): 17–366.

11. Verdaguer, *Historia eclesiástica de Cuyo*; Romualdo Ardissonne and Mario F. Grondona, *La instalación aborigen en Valle Fértil* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Geografía, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1953); Michieli, *La fundación de villas*. The colonial junta de poblaciones decided on matters related to the creation of towns, including indigenous *reducciones*.

12. Michieli, *La fundación de villas*, 151–66.

lands.¹³ They may have managed to continue to avoid payment of tribute; in the middle of the eighteenth century, ecclesiastical inspectors complained of illegal tribute collection by secular authorities.¹⁴ And in 1795 the Marquis of Sobremonte, governor of the Intendancy of Córdoba (of which Cuyo was a part in the early years of the Río de la Plata viceroyalty), recognized that the inhabitants of the towns of Las Lagunas de Guanacache and Mogna, “according to their constitution,” did not pay tribute.¹⁵ That situation notably differed from that of neighboring Córdoba and La Rioja, where many Indian towns paid tribute at the time.

While the settlement of the Indians in reducciones was successful in Mogna and Corocorto (located to the southeast of Las Lagunas on the Desaguadero River), in the towns of Asunción, San Miguel, and Rosario in the region of Lagunas de Guanacache the Indians systematically abandoned the lots laid out for them in favor of living dispersed over the countryside.¹⁶ Yet even if such concentrated, sedentary settlements were disregarded, the legal status of *pueblo de indios* and *reducción* enabled the indigenous people to defend their territorial rights from that point forward. In 1795 Sobremonte admitted that he could not permit the efforts by the Spanish citizens of the city of San Juan to appropriate lands in Guanacache and Mogna because the Indians had *real provisión* (royal approval) from the audiencia of Chile securing rights to their lands.¹⁷ Later, in 1807, the protector de indios of Corocorto made the same case against Sobremonte himself.¹⁸

Despite evidence of the presence and relative importance of the indigenous population in Cuyo in the late colonial period, the ethnohistory of the area had declared the Indian population to have disappeared by that time, based on the small numbers of Indians in encomiendas by the end of the seventeenth century and the subsequent lack of tributary lists.¹⁹ Censuses from the late colonial

13. Verdaguer, *Historia eclesiástica de Cuyo*, 316, 319–20; Ana T. Fanchin, “Integración de áreas periféricas en Cuyo al promediar el siglo XVIII,” *Revista de Estudios Trasandinos* 4 (2000): 285–95.

14. José Torre Revello, *El marqués de Sobre Monte, gobernador intendente de Córdoba y virrey del Río de la Plata: Ensayo histórico* (Buenos Aires: Peuser, 1946).

15. *Ibid.*, 30, xcvi–xcvii.

16. Prieto, “Formación y consolidación”; Fanchin “Integración de áreas periféricas”; Michieli, *La fundación de villas*.

17. Torre Revello, *El marqués de Sobre Monte*, xcvi–xcvii.

18. “Defensa de Crisóstomo Pérez de los indios de Corocorto frente al denuncia de Mateo Delgado,” 1807, AHM, carpeta 30, doc. 50; Adolfo Omar Cueto, “La legislación hispánica sobre tierra y su vigencia en la Mendoza colonial (siglos XVI–XIX),” *Revista de Estudios Regionales* 3 (1989): 65–108.

19. Michieli, *La fundación de villas*; Prieto, “Formación y consolidación.”

era and soon after independence, however, show significant groups of indigenous population in the three provinces of the Cuyo region, even though the censuses did not count those Indians who lived outside government control. A count from 1777 of the administrative unit of Mendoza, which included only the urban areas of Mendoza, San Juan, and San Luis, listed 4,168 Indians in a total population of 23,411. An 1812 census, during the first period of independence, showed 9,261 Indians in a total population of 43,204, although it is not possible to say how many lived in the region of Las Lagunas. Unfortunately, although these surveys show that a significant segment of the people was classified as Indian, the data are not adequate for a reliable enumeration of the population.²⁰

As we will see, beyond their controversial existence up to the end of the Spanish colonial era, the reducciones of Guanacache were the basis for claims to land rights in the nineteenth century, after independence. The towns of Asunción, Rosario, and San Miguel continued to be the main districts of what in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was called the partido of Las Lagunas. Up to the present day the three chapels in those communities, which have been visited by various religious orders, in particular the Jesuits until their expulsion, have been known as mission territory.

Toward the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, the ability of the Indians to resist encroachment on their lands declined steadily. Large areas passed into the hands of Spaniards in donations or fraudulent grants made by the descendants of the caciques, as happened in Mogna in 1809.²¹ This process accelerated in the early independence era. As in colonial Tucumán and throughout the northern and central Andean region, in Cuyo the implementation of liberal reforms in the first years of independence chipped away at the corporate rights over communal lands that Indians had held in the colonial era, legally guaranteed by the state through the protectores de indios.²²

20. José Torre Revello, "La población de Cuyo a comienzos del Virreinato y a principios de la iniciación del período independiente, 1777 y 1812," *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* 23, no. 77-80 (1938): 77-84. Documents collected by Torre Revello show that the regional officials responsible for the censuses noted the lack of professionalism of the census takers and the difficulty of gaining access to the countryside. And in contrast to the second census, the first does not specifically refer to the number of women, although it counted children.

21. Michieli, *La fundación de villas*, 162.

22. Cristina López, "Tierras comunales, tierras fiscales: El tránsito del orden colonial a la revolución," in *La propiedad de la tierra pasado y presente: Estudios de arqueología, historia y antropología sobre la propiedad de la tierra en la Argentina*, ed. Enrique Cruz and Rosana Paolini (Córdoba, Argentina: Alción Editora, 2006), 39-67.

Nevertheless, as has also been noted for what is today the Argentine northwest, the application and consolidation of those reforms had varying effects on each Indian town, region, and province. And unlike what happened in Mexico and Peru, the liberal reforms were not brought together in a unified legal structure until the approval of the Civil Code of Argentina in 1869.²³

Although exact data on the loss of rights to land by the Indian towns of Cuyo are not yet available, all indications are that new liberal-inspired regulations governing land tenure in the 1820s gave rise to renewed attempts at land appropriation by the political and economic elite of the region, particularly in the area of Guanacache. In 1823 Pedro Molina, the governor of Mendoza, issued a decree “regulating the denunciation and sale of public land.”²⁴ *Denunciation* (*denuncio*) was a formal request to the government for the purchase of a specific parcel of state-owned land that supposedly had not previously been granted or sold. It required the private party to submit a plan for a survey to locate and demarcate the land in question. The state was then required to post the results publicly, and if no one came forth to claim possession, the property could be put up for auction and sold to the highest bidder. This procedure was very similar to colonial provisions going back to the late sixteenth century for the sale of royal land at public auction, which had been restored by Charles III in 1754, the moment when the Indian towns of Guanacache were established.²⁵ As had happened in the Bourbon era, the denunciation procedure in the early national period facilitated the privatization of lands that Indian towns had long held. Landlords who were members of the government and local elites promoted the public sales. The land auctioned off was occupied by indigenous or peasant communities, who rarely saw the formal declarations of denunciation posted in the cities and only much later found out that their land had been sold. Parallel to these procedures permitting land privatization, however, the same colonial legislation had in 1754 proclaimed and reiterated the right of possession by “just prescription,” which made it possible to confirm ownership of land in the absence of titles by those who could demonstrate that they had occupied and used the land for a certain number of years or, as the people of Las Lagunas

23. Ana A. Teruel and Cecilia Fandos, “Procesos de privatización y desarticulación de tierras indígenas en el norte de Argentina en el siglo XIX,” *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 35 (2009): 233–55.

24. Adolfo Omar Cueto, “Dos intentos enfitéuticos en la legislación sobre tierras pública en Mendoza, en el siglo XIX,” *Revista de Estudios Regionales* 1 (1988): 73–100.

25. “Real Instrucción del 15 de octubre de 1754,” AHM, carpeta 46, doc. 30; Cueto, “La legislación hispánica,” 72–74.

would declare, "since time immemorial."²⁶ During the nineteenth century the Indians of Cuyo used these provisions as the precedent to defend their land rights.

Pedro Molina's regulations for the sale of public lands remained in effect, with a few ups and downs, until the promulgation of the national constitution of 1853. In 1825, for example, the alienation of public lands was prohibited, in line with the law of emphyteusis that the government of Bernardino Rivadavia decreed in Buenos Aires in 1826. But between 1826 and 1827 there were new denunciations and sales of lands, and in 1827 the provincial government rejected the national constitution promoted by Rivadavia.²⁷ Tellingly, the claims by the people of Las Lagunas began in 1828, only after these denunciations, and increased in the 1830s when new denunciations took place in the region.

Research on other provinces in the zone of early colonization has shown that the struggle for Indian lands continued during the nineteenth century, including the recognition of the rights of indigenous communities and the recovery of Indian lands in colonial Tucumán, specifically in Jujuy and the Calchaquíes Valleys, and in Córdoba.²⁸ Those cases are similar to the experience of the Laguneros of Guanacache in the prolonged resistance to land expropriation, the struggle for legal recognition of property rights, the attacks on community lands in the mid-1820s during the liberal-inspired reforms (as in Jujuy), the preservation and concealment of colonial land documents (as in Amaicha and Colalao), and the recognition of indigenous land rights in 1838 (the same year as in Humahuaca).

For the case of Cuyo we lack historical research for indigenous identities

26. Cueto, "La legislación hispánica," 72–74.

27. Cueto, "Dos intentos enfitéuticos," 83.

28. Teruel and Fandos, "Procesos de privatización"; Gustavo L. Paz, "Resistencia y rebelión campesina en la puna de Jujuy, 1850–1875," *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana 'Dr. Emilio Ravignani'*, 3rd ser., no. 4 (1991): 63–89; Gustavo L. Paz, "Liderazgos étnicos, caudillismo y resistencia campesina en el norte argentino a mediados del siglo XIX," in *Caudillismos rioplatenses: Nuevas miradas a un viejo problema*, ed. Noemí Goldman and Ricardo Salvatore, 2nd ed. (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 2005), 310–46; Ian Rutledge, "The Indian Peasant Rebellion in the Highlands of Northern Argentina, 1872–75," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 4, no. 2 (1977): 227–37; Guillermo B. Madrazo, *Hacienda y encomienda en los Andes: La puna argentina bajo el marquesado de Tojo, siglos XVII y XIX* (Buenos Aires: Fondo Editorial, 1982); Alejandro Isla, *Los usos políticos de la identidad: Indigenismo y Estado* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de las Ciencias, 2002); López, "Tierras comunales, tierras fiscales"; Sonia Tell, "Expansión urbana sobre tierras indígenas: El pueblo de La Toma en la Real Audiencia de Buenos Aires," *Mundo Agrario* 10, no. 20 (2010): 1–31.

during the period after political independence aside from regional literature and a few historical essays that project an indigenous identity onto the *montoneras*.²⁹ One might think that this lack stems from the absence of relevant documentation, but the evidence presented in this article belies such an assumption. I believe that for the most part this situation is due to the geographical representation of the presence or absence of a population considered to be indigenous in the historical and ethnohistorical literature, which seem to take as a given an almost ontological division between indigenous and nonindigenous societies. This classification, like the typological divisions between tribal societies, indigenous chiefdoms, and the state, or between Indians and gauchos, dominates current studies of Argentina's indigenous history, including those that have provided a more complex view of the relations between both groups by analyzing interaction along ethnic frontiers. The analysis and theorization of indigenous subjects, identities, or political practices in the countryside of the interior provinces during the nineteenth century continue to be a relatively blank spot in historical scholarship. It is only beginning to be filled by scholars such as Ariel de la Fuente, whose work explicitly connects ethnic identities with the general political contentiousness of the era, especially the partisan struggles between Unitarians and Federalists.³⁰

If we analyze the spatial distribution of indigenous and creole peoples in Argentine historiography, we see that the population of provincial territories of the old colonial zone in the central geographical belt of present-day Argentina (i.e., the center and north of the province of Buenos Aires, the center of Santa Fe, Córdoba, Santiago del Estero, La Rioja, and Cuyo) was traditionally thought of as resulting from whitening race mixture, through which the earlier indig-

29. These include Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Vidas de fray Félix Aldao y El Chacho* (Buenos Aires: Argos, 1947); Marcos Estrada, *Martina Chapanay: Realidad y mito* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta Varese, 1962); Hugo Chumbita and Alicia Martínez, "Martina Chapanay, bandida y montonera," *Todo es historia*, no. 325 (1994): 36–42. David Rock also mentions that the main political contention in San Juan during the 1860s and 1870s came from the social division between the white urban population, associated with the liberal party, and gauchos and mestizos in the rural areas, who were linked to Federalist politicians, but this distinction is not demonstrated by evidence. David Rock, "Civil War in Nineteenth Century Argentina: San Juan 1860–1861," in *El impacto de guerras civiles e invasiones sobre la sociedad y la política local, 1800–1870*, ed. Anthony MacFarlane and Marianne L. Wiesebron, Cuadernos de historia latinoamericana 6 (Leiden, The Netherlands: Asociación de Historiadores Latinoamericanistas Europeos, 1998), 4, electronic publication.

30. Ariel de la Fuente, *Children of Facundo: Caudillo and Gaucho Insurgency during the Argentine State-Formation Process (La Rioja, 1853–1870)* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2000).

enous populations supposedly transformed themselves into creoles without the mediation of demographic and cultural changes that might serve to explain such a process. The continuity of indigenous identification or political practices in those areas was, if not denied, basically neglected by historical analysis. I think that in reality, in the historiography as well as in the vision of the elites of the era, the labeling of a group as indigenous or creole depended more on an implicit assessment of their autonomy or political sovereignty with respect to governmental institutions during the process of national state formation. The population of the territory considered to be under effective state control is almost always thought of as non-Indian, exactly the opposite of those groups still living beyond such control. In view of these distinctions I call groups such as the Laguneros of Cuyo *intramural Indians* or *indigeno-creole* to emphasize that those labels can be more shifting and polyvalent than is suggested by much of the historical literature.

With an analysis centered on the documents in the Lagunero family records (the “Huarpe archives”) together with official archival sources, I will focus on the continuity of legal claims and indigenous identification in northern Mendoza and their connection to political mobilization and the formation of the modern state in the region in the first half of the nineteenth century. I will endeavor to show that in the judicial struggle for their lands, the Laguneros of Guanacache succeeded in reinstituting legislation related to Indian status well into the independence period and even achieved something unheard of in this regard, in view of the existing historical understanding of Argentina: they caused the provincial republican government to reestablish the office of protector de indios two decades after it had been abolished and to maintain it well into the 1840s.

A Lawsuit by the Protector de Indios of Mendoza in the 1830s

It is widely known that in other contexts, such as the northern and central Andes, Mexico, and colonial Tucumán, indigenous groups that kept possession of their lands were directly affected by the process of the privatization of communal property, which gave rise to broader conflicts, strategies of resistance, or negotiation that in some cases continued up to the present day. The case at hand shows the existence of these conflicts in Cuyo along with the continuity of collective strategies and forms of resistance centered on indigenous identity in the region over the course of the nineteenth century. And it is not a question of groups that lacked power and the ability to apply political pressure. In Mendoza the Laguneros not only denounced encroachment on common lands by pri-

vate individuals, but they succeeded in a novel achievement (the only such case known) in Argentina: the reinstitution of a colonial office eliminated decades earlier, the protector de indios or naturales, and the restoration of colonial legislation governing indigenous land rights.

In 1828 the judge of El Rosario (one of the old Indian reducciones of the Lagunas de Guanacache) vehemently called for the restoration of the office of protector de indios to oversee the collective defense of the Laguneros against the “wealthy persons” who were usurping the lands of the community in the following terms:

Don Miguel González, judge of Rosario, in his own name and in the name of the reducción, with utmost respect, hereby declares: Because the reducción is without a *protector*, we do not have the institution that the laws have granted us, and by which they wished to remedy our ignorance and poverty, promoting our welfare and defending us against the aggression, power, and intrusion of wealthy people who, because of their superior knowledge and connections, suppress our voice and worsen our miserable condition, advancing their fortune over our ruin, increasing our ignorance and poverty. And because now more than ever we need another *protector* to defend us against those who have entered the lands set aside for the reducción, someone who would promote the establishment of a *villa* or more organized town, laying it out in the most appropriate location, we have agreed to request that Your Excellency see fit to provide us with such a *protector* by appointing don Juan Escalante, who we believe is motivated by an appropriate concern for our welfare. Your Excellency, who shows himself well disposed in favor of the prosperity of the province, will no doubt grant a request that, since it is based on the laws, should therefore contribute much to the improvement and advancement of the population.³¹

No sooner was he appointed than Escalante had to leave for Buenos Aires, abandoning his position for two years, for unclear reasons.³² However, this absence coincided with a period of intense political instability and the persecution of Unitarians by Federalist governments such as those that effectively controlled the province at the time. In 1832 the judges of Asunción and Rosario

31. “Nonato Salazar y Domingo Victoriano Villegas al Gobernador elevan informe con el pedido de protector de indios en Lagunas de Guanacache,” Mendoza, 9 Aug. 1832, AHM, carpeta 574, doc. 8.

32. Ibid.

again reaffirmed the request for Escalante's appointment as *protector*. Finally Governor Pedro Nolasco Ortiz confirmed Escalante as protector de naturales of Las Lagunas,³³ which then gave rise to a lawsuit to determine the rights of the Laguneros to the land in question. Neither the substance of the complaint nor the institution requested was new to the Laguneros, who in the colonial era, as did those in other parts of Cuyo, had frequently appealed to the *protector* or *defensor de indios* or *naturales* to act in defense of their property rights. Now, however, well into the independence era, two decades after the revolution of May 1810, with Spanish judicial institutions and even the indigenous communities abolished in theory, the local inhabitants succeeded as Indians in having this official from colonial indigenous law appointed again. Furthermore, the "judges of Las Lagunas," Miguel González in 1828 and Nonato Salazar and Domingo Villegas in 1832, invoked their own identity and that of the local population as Indian, defining their jurisdictions as reducciones and the lands in question as the "designated lands" of the *reducción*.³⁴

It is also relevant to note that although the titles typically used by the rest of the provincial administration were local judge (*juez pedáneo*), justice of the peace (*juez de paz*), or appellate judge (*juez de alzada*), those titles were never used for the judges of Las Lagunas between 1819 and 1834. Different terms with locally specific ethnic connotations were used instead. In the correspondence itself we find letters signed as "judge of this *reducción*," "judge of the *reducción* of El Rosario," or "judge of the *reducción* of Asunción, judge of El Rosario."³⁵ And in testimony recorded by the protector de indios and in governmental decrees they are mentioned only as "Lagunero judges."³⁶

In 1820 subdelegate judges were appointed in each *villa* with wide-ranging duties combining police and judicial powers, in addition to military functions

33. Ibid.; Edberto Oscar Acevedo, *Orígenes de la organización judicial de la provincia de Mendoza* (Buenos Aires: Fundación para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura, 1979), 142–43.

34. "Salazar y Villegas al Gobernador," Mendoza, 9 Aug. 1832, AHM, carpeta. 574, doc. 8.

35. Ibid.; Juan Isidro Maza, *Ensayo sobre la historia del Departamento de Lavalle* (Mendoza, Argentina: Editorial Estudio Alfa, 1981), 42, 109.

36. "Defensa realizada por el Defensor de pobres y ausentes a los indios Laguneros," Mendoza, 10 May 1879, AHM, carpeta 575 bis, doc. 17 (hereafter this entire document will be referred to as "Defensa realizada por el Defensor"); José Videla Castillo, "Decreto gubernativo, sobre los animales desconocidos del territorio de las Lagunas, y reglamentando el modo de recojer, señalar y marcar," in *Código de las Leyes, Decretos y Acuerdos que sobre administración de justicia se ha dictado la Provincia de Mendoza. . . .*, ed. Manuel de Ahumada (Mendoza, Argentina: Imprenta de El Constitucional, 1860), 68–70.

in some cases.³⁷ Beginning in 1830 with the creation of the Military Command and Subdelegacy of Las Lagunas, the judges were replaced by the office of subdelegate, which continued the colonial tradition of overlapping functions in a single individual.³⁸ Some subdelegates had considerable autonomy and often acted on the claims of their community members, including submitting formal legal petitions.³⁹ But after the defeat of the Federalists at the national level and in Las Lagunas in 1862, the subdelegates' mission was to suppress any political opposition, whether by Federalists or dissident liberals.⁴⁰ I believe that the special duties of the Lagunero judges, which were unique in the province, might correspond to official positions that replaced the indigenous *alcaldes* in the reducciones or Indian towns after the colonial era, which persisted at least until 1789.⁴¹ Thus Guanacache is the only place where such sui generis positions of local judges are observed. It is also the only jurisdiction in the countryside where we find an *alcalde de las Lagunas* in 1816, while in the following year the first ephemeral subdelegate appears, a position that reemerges in the 1830s.⁴²

The claims made by Juan Escalante, the protector de los naturales of Las Lagunas between 1833 and 1835, were based on the legal provisions of *derecho indiano* (Spanish colonial law) and used arguments similar to those of the defensores de indios of the colonial period. Escalante appealed to two principles that, as we have seen, disregarded formal title as the basis for rights to land: one was possession by "just prescription," and the other was the occupation of community land from "time immemorial." Those principles were set forth in the royal decree of Charles III in 1754, which Escalante explicitly cited.⁴³ In making his argument, Escalante declared that during the colonial era the Laguneros had been given possession of their lands by a royal grant,⁴⁴ but that he had not been

37. Inés Sanjurjo de Driollet, *La organización político-administrativa de la campaña mendocina en el tránsito del antiguo régimen al orden liberal* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Investigaciones de Historia del Derecho, 2004), 35.

38. Ibid., 49.

39. Ibid., 287–88.

40. Ibid., 275.

41. Milcíades Alejo Vignati, "Aportes al conocimiento antropológico de la provincia de Mendoza III: Un diario de viaje por las Lagunas de Guanacache en el año de 1789," *Notas del Museo Eva Perón* 16, no. 58–61 (1953): 51–103.

42. Sanjurjo, *La organización político-administrativa*, 30.

43. "Defensa realizada por el Defensor," ff. 12–13.

44. Ibid., f. 4. These were almost certainly established by the junta de poblaciones (board of towns) of Chile in the mid-eighteenth century, and their existence was defended by the protectores de indios until the end of the Spanish colonial regime. AHM, carpeta 27, doc. 50, and carpeta 30, doc. 50.

able to find the resulting titles. He therefore sent a letter to the general minister of government asserting that as soon as he had assumed his post,

I requested of my predecessors the titles by which the lands that in the time of His Majesty the King of Spain in the Indies were granted in possession and property to the first inhabitants of the reducciones in the three districts of Las Lagunas, which are Asunción, Rosario, and San Miguel. But my diligent inquiry has been to no avail regarding the whereabouts of such documents, without which I cannot proceed with the complaints of those natives against the incursions into several parts of their property. Nor can I prevent some private individuals, abusively and with false titles, from raiding the property of people under my protection, branding or taking their animals.⁴⁵

Faced with the loss of the land titles, the *protector* conducted a summary inquiry to determine how long the Laguneros had been in possession of the land and the possible existence of titles, as well as the extent of the lands that had been granted to the communities. This consisted of taking testimony from a group of people who, by their familiarity with the area and its inhabitants, common knowledge, or advanced age, might have authoritative knowledge of the matter.

The witnesses unanimously affirmed that the Laguneros had always occupied the land in question. They also stated that for some time previous neighboring landowners had “intruded on these lands” causing damage and that the Lagunero judges had erred in granting the intruders some of their livestock, which had led the Laguneros to enter into litigation.⁴⁶ A complaint by the inhabitants of Lagunillas, in the eastern part of the disputed territory, stated that another neighboring property owner tried to take over the lands in Las Chacritas, near El Gigante. The plaintiff requested that the local official Jofré, whom he referred to as “my esteemed friend,” should “as the father of this region” report that the usurper, “claiming to be a renter, wants to deprive us of the use of property that has been ours since the time we opened our eyes.”⁴⁷

Based on this testimony, Juan Escalante considered the possession of the disputed lands from time immemorial to be proven, arguing that according to legislation applying to Indians this brief was sufficient to give the Laguneros the

45. “Defensa realizada por el Defensor,” f. 5.

46. Ibid., ff. 5–10.

47. “Justo Lencinas a Juan Jofré 9 de nov. de 1833,” in “Defensa realizada por el Defensor,” f. 12.

title to the property by “just prescription.”⁴⁸ He noted that “the community I represent is privileged under the law, and not only should any land that has been taken away be restored to them, but it should be increased to the extent necessary for raising their livestock.”⁴⁹ In March 1834 the *fiscal de gobierno* approved the decision, declaring the possession and use rights of the Laguneros over the land in question to be proven. Even more significantly, he agreed that the brief as presented served to replace the lost land titles, under the “protection that the Laws of the Indies [derecho indiano] granted especially to the natives as fair compensation for the usurpations they have suffered.”⁵⁰ The *fiscal* did, however, raise one objection to Escalante’s request with regard to the lands in question, saying that it included an excessive area for a small number of people. He added that this might have been of little importance in colonial times, but it was significant in the current era of “free government,” which should now work to increase the number of inhabitants because “from that increase public welfare is improved, because it is undeniable that when landed property becomes concentrated in a few hands there is direct harm to the population and . . . it begins to resemble that feudal state that we must always seek to prevent among us.”⁵¹

In response to this assertion, which is reminiscent of the arguments of officials in the late colonial era and the early independence period,⁵² Escalante made an impassioned plea to the *fiscal* seeking to refute the idea that the territory involved was excessive for the number of people who lived there, invoking cultural, ecological, and demographic arguments. The criticism that the area was too large, he said, could only be applied to cultivated lands. But since the lands in this dispute were barren, without water, and used only for grazing, they had to be distributed in large areas in proportion to their sterility. He then continued with a description of grazing practices and their relationship to environmental conditions. The lands

are made up of immense sand barrens, immense reaches, high hills of sand, with no more water than what might eventually fall from the sky. . . . In the dry years . . . the only feed for the cattle is what might appear on the winding banks of the rivers. Thus the need to take them

48. Escalante cites the *Real Instrucción* of October 15, 1754, and book 7, article 18 of the *Código de Independientes*. “Defensa realizada por el Defensor,” ff. 13–14.

49. “Defensa realizada por el Defensor,” f. 13.

50. *Ibid.*, f. 15.

51. *Ibid.*, f. 13.

52. Pedro Andrés García, *Un funcionario en busca del Estado: Pedro Andrés García y la cuestión agraria bonaerense, 1810–1822*, ed. Jorge Gelman (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 1997).

great distances for feed, with the double labor of having to dig wells or systems to provide water, which must be abandoned as soon as the pasture is used up in the area, to be built again elsewhere. That is the wandering life of the herders and the miserable and temporary huts they live in.⁵³

Some of the central points of the *protector's* case, together with information available for periods not long after, permit an understanding of the social situation of the Laguneros of Guanacache, and perhaps of the population of the greater part of the inhospitable reaches of Cuyo, in a period for which we have very few sources.

In the first place, the report brings a new demographic perspective. The *protector* is said to have attached a census showing 1,181 people in an area of 200 square leagues, mentioning five principal districts: Asunción, Rosario, Punta de Lagunas, San Miguel, and Alto Grande. That number might suggest that the total population was considerably larger, because there were many people who "were absent and others hide in fear when a census is taken."⁵⁴ Based on this census Escalante calculated an average area of 280 *cuadras* of land for each head of household, which refuted the argument that there was too much land for the number of inhabitants and the suggestion that if the case was decided in favor of the communities the population would double in a few years.

The population size suggested by Escalante is greater than those in official sources. Detailed information on the population of the region in this period is not available, but the national census closest in time, carried out by Martin de Moussy in 1857, states that the district of Mendoza called Rosario had 1,086 people out of a provincial total of 47,478. Other sources give double that number, such as the provincial statistical report of 1864, which lists 2,197 people for Las Lagunas of a provincial total of 57,576, and the national census of 1869, which lists 2,060 for the Department of Rosario out of a provincial total of 65,413.⁵⁵ On the other hand, a statistical report from San Juan in 1873 stated that thousands of Laguneros were occupied in fishing in Mendoza, San Juan, and San Luis.⁵⁶ I think that, in addition to the difficulty census takers had in

53. "Defensa realizada por el Defensor," f. 19.

54. Ibid., f. 18.

55. José Luis Masini Calderón, *Mendoza hace cien años: Historia de la provincia durante la presidencia de Mitre* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Theoría, 1967), 12; República Argentina, *Primer Censo de la República Argentina, verificado en los días 15, 16 y 17 de Setiembre de 1869* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Porvenir, 1872).

56. Rafael S. Igarzábal, *La Provincia de San Juan en la Exposición de Córdoba: Geografía y Estadística* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta, Litografía y Fundicion de Tipos á Vapor de la Sociedad Anónima, 1873), 189.

covering the area and the flight of Laguneros to escape military conscription, the discrepancies of the counts might be due to the fact that the total area inhabited by Laguneros extended into three provinces. Only Mendoza historically contained a jurisdiction, alternately called Rosario or Lagunas, which might make it possible to trace the demography of the area. The Laguneros of the provinces of San Luis and San Juan were located in various jurisdictions such as Caucete, mentioned in the statistical report on San Juan. The censuses do not distinguish which parts of the administrative subdivisions contained parts of the larger geographical territory of Las Lagunas.⁵⁷

Secondly, Escalante provided a brief but compelling description of the pastoral practices that were the main economic activity of the region, a seminomadic tradition that took advantage of sparse pasturage in an arid environment with periodic droughts. The need to make use of dispersed and limited renewable resources also explains the scattered settlement pattern, which had been a constant since colonial times, despite efforts to push people into concentrated settlements, and which remains in effect to the present day. It is interesting to note that in 1828, when Judge González of the *reducción* of Rosario requested that a *protector* be appointed, he again offered the government the same thing that the Indians of Mogna, Las Lagunas, and other places had promised to the colonial authorities in the mid-eighteenth century in order to acquire the status of *pueblo de indios* and receive political protection: They would establish “a *villa* or more organized town, laying it out in the most appropriate location.”⁵⁸ The migratory life of the Laguneros also was an impediment to making substantial improvements on the land. Those improvements mentioned, such as houses and wells to provide water for livestock, were ephemeral and disposable. Escalante also hinted at the extreme poverty of the Laguneros, which was explained in the comments of other observers as the result of a lack of interest in economic accumulation. A report by Rafael Igarzábal in 1873 summed up the economic situation as follows:

The Laguneros do not try to accumulate wealth. When the rains are scarce, and the countryside is poor, they go fishing and come into the capital with enough fish to satisfy their most urgent needs for clothing, *yerba mate*, tobacco, etc. But if they don't need such things they care little for the business they could conduct, preferring the independent life far from the provincial population centers.⁵⁹

57. República Argentina, *Primer Censo*, 371–78.

58. “Salazar y Villegas al Gobernador,” Mendoza, 9 Aug. 1832, AHM, carpeta 574, doc. 8.

59. Igarzábal, *La Provincia de San Juan*, 190.

Despite this apparently generalized poverty, regional society was more diversified than Escalante described when he emphasized the sterility of the natural environment in order to lower the value of the lands to support his request to the government. Although later sources, an economic census in 1866 and the national demographic census of 1869 reported a number of ranchers (estancieros) and some property owners, along with a larger proportion of peons and laborers (*gañanes*).⁶⁰ The landed properties and the richest individuals were concentrated in the southern part of the region, nearer the city of Mendoza and far from Las Lagunas proper. As reported in the 1866 census, agricultural land, both under cultivation (planted mainly with alfalfa) and fallow, was reportedly less than 0.5 percent of the total area of the region. The estancias in the area, although they did not approach the great territories and investments found in the humid Pampas, consisted of relatively large herds for the region and time, grazing on open range. The largest estancia had as many as five resident peons, and the smallest were worked with only family labor. According to the 1869 census there were 17 estancieros and 8 property owners in the department. The 1866 count, in contrast, shows 128 individuals owning livestock or agricultural lands. Just as it is impossible to know the true number of people who owned livestock, it is extremely difficult to calculate the actual number of cattle they owned, given both the problems of counting cattle on the open range and, especially, the purpose of the census, which was to assess property for taxation at a moment when the area was in open rebellion against any kind of formal state control (i.e., between the repression of the Chacho's montoneras in 1862 and the so-called Revolution of the Colorados in 1866–67). Taking the number of cattle enumerated for the 128 individuals in the census and applying estimates from the period that would at least double the official number of cattle,⁶¹ we arrive at a rough average of 66 head of adult cattle and 100 younger animals per property.

More specific examples can be found in the 1866 census, which shows that Domingo Villegas had 214 head of adult cattle, 185 young animals, and 2 oxen. A medium-sized estanciero like Villegas had capital officially valued at 792 pesos, while the largest property owner in the southern part of the province, Víctor Alvino, had capital of 5,964 pesos. The poorest half of the property owners included in the census, the majority of whom were in the districts of Las Lagunas, had capital valued between 20 and 148 pesos.⁶² The concentration of

60. "Padrón de Propietarios del Departamento del Rosario (1866)," AHM, carpeta 574, doc. 142; República Argentina, *Primer Censo*.

61. Igarzábal, *La provincia de San Juan*, 197.

62. Calculated from "Padrón de Propietarios del Departamento del Rosario (1866)," AHM, carpeta 574, doc. 142.

larger property owners in the south is related to their ethnic origin—in general they were considered to be descendants of Spaniards or Portuguese prisoners of war transferred to the area in the late eighteenth century—and their political connections to the elites who controlled the provincial government. This process of land concentration accelerated around the 1860s, three decades after Escalante's lawsuit and coinciding with the displacement of Laguneros like Domingo Villegas from public office. This nucleus of settlement in the south became the base from where the modern irrigation system in the department developed and where a large number of European immigrants settled in the 1880s. With the desert conditions overcome, by the middle of the twentieth century the irrigated zone of Guanacache, 3 percent of the territory, had more than 90 percent of the population.⁶³

With this long digression to help reconstruct the local society of the period, we can return to the case the *protector* made to the *fiscal* regarding community land claims. At the conclusion of the information gathered from the witnesses regarding the land rights of the Laguneros, Escalante implicitly alluded to the difficult political situation as the cause of increased usurpation of the lands of Laguneros who were "disturbed by the calamity of the times, which has produced a series of insuperable obstacles . . . and makes it necessary to wait for more favorable and tranquil conditions to overcome them."⁶⁴ Concluding his reply to the objections raised by the *fiscal*, Escalante added that he had "made only passing reference to the political arguments in favor of the Laguneros' claims."⁶⁵ Those arguments, however, appear to have been more important than might be assumed from this brief note. The request for a *protector* and the beginnings of the lawsuit in 1828 coincided with the activities of Juan Facundo Quiroga and militias of Cuyo and La Rioja in the open warfare pitting Federalists against the Unitarians commanded by Generals José María Paz and Gregorio Aráoz de Lamadrid. The interval between the first request and the second of 1832 was a brief period of restoration of Unitarian control of the region: in 1830, with the defeat of Oncativo in Córdoba, Quiroga lost control of the governments of Cuyo. Between late 1830 and early 1831 Federalist guerrillas supported by Quiroga harassed the Unitarian governments of Mendoza and San Juan. One of the centers of conflict was precisely in the area of Las Lagunas, where

63. Diego Escolar and Leticia Saldi, "Canales fantasmas en el 'desierto huarpe': Riego legal, discursos ecológicos y apropiación del agua en Cuyo, Argentina, siglos XIX–XX," *Agenda Social* 7, no. 1 (2013): 68–94.

64. "Defensa realizada por el Defensor," f. 13.

65. *Ibid.*, f. 20.

the Unitarian Mendoza government of José Videla Castillo stationed 100 men, a considerable force for the period and region, but did not succeed in controlling the area.⁶⁶ The guerrilla units, commanded by the future caudillo of San Juan, José Nazario Benavides, cut communications between the two provinces, which contributed to Quiroga's defeat of Videla Castillo at Rodeo de Chacón. At that point Quiroga began to prepare a large army that he used to take La Rioja in 1832, thus gaining control of all of Cuyo. This period coincided with a time of serious political persecution in the region, mainly against the Unitarians. This was just when, tellingly, Escalante left the area for Buenos Aires. When he eventually returned he found his earlier appointment canceled.

The legal process seems to have entered an impasse between 1835 and 1838, when the *protector* declared that he was "fearful that his repeated efforts might bring hate upon himself, with serious damage to those he represented, so he resolved to suspend all further actions."⁶⁷ But finally on March 12, 1838, the delegate governor-general issued the following decree:

The captain general of the province, considering the situation in which the natives of Las Lagunas find themselves due to lack of recognition of their rights to the property they possess, and taking into account the powerful arguments they themselves have put forth in the presence of the subdelegate and their parish priest, hereby decrees:

1. All the territory in the said department that has not been privatized up to the present will be dedicated to the benefit of the natives of Las Lagunas.
2. To carry out the provisions of the previous paragraph, no denunciations whatsoever will be allowed in the lands within the department in question.⁶⁸

This decree, along with the legal proceeding and the arguments taken into consideration, is certainly a key element of the jurisprudence applying to the lands of the Laguneros. But it also is important for the communal rights of indigenous people in the early independence period in that part of Argentine

66. Instituto de Historia Regional y Argentina "Héctor Domingo Arias," *Archivo del Brigadier General Nazario Benavides*, vol. 1 (San Juan, Argentina: Editorial Fundación Universidad Nacional de San Juan, 1994), 102–16.

67. "Defensa realizada por el Defensor," f. 21.

68. *Ibid.*, ff. 21–22; "Decreto gubernativo, haciendo gracia de terrenos á beneficio de los naturales de las Lagunas," in Ahumada, *Código de las Leyes*, 136.

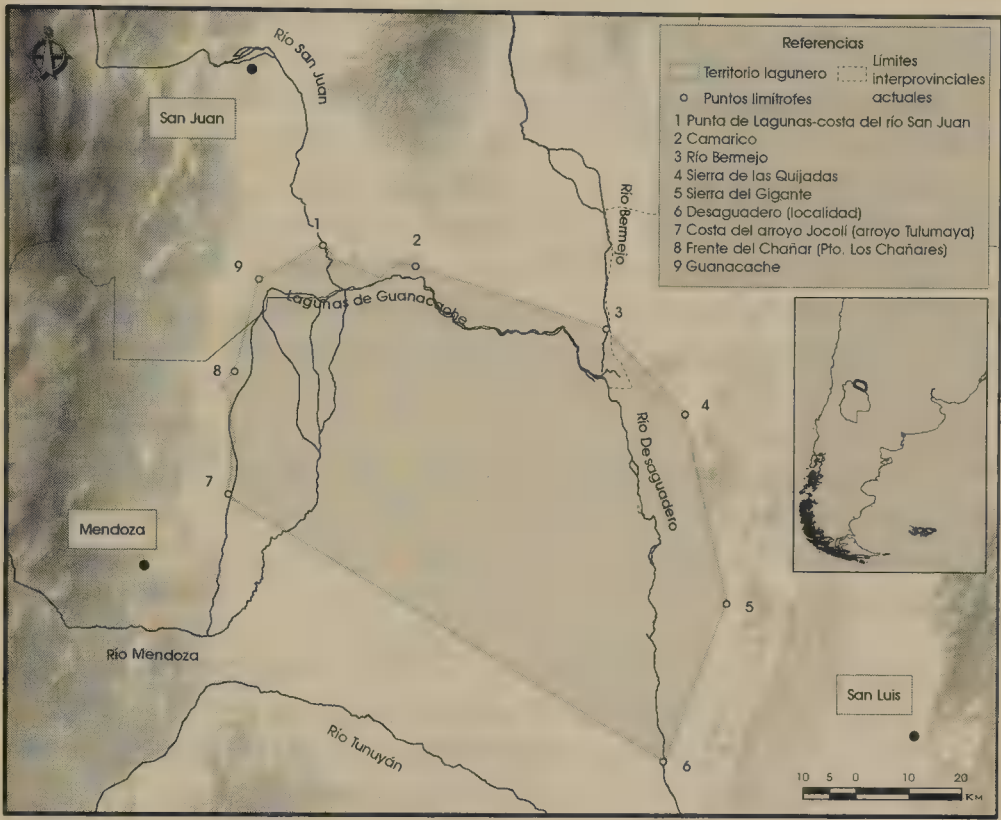


Figure 1. Boundaries of the territory claimed by the Laguneros of Guanacache and recognized by the government of Mendoza in 1838. Reconstructed by the author based on information included in “Defensa realizada por el Defensor de pobres y ausentes a los indios Laguneros,” Mendoza, 10 May 1879, Archivo Histórico de Mendoza, carpeta 575 bis, doc. 17.

territory considered under the effective sovereignty of the provincial governments. As indicated at the beginning of this article, in Argentina there is a known history of lawsuits and land claims on the part of indigenous communities in the *puna* of Jujuy and the area of the Calchaquíes Valleys, in the provinces of Tucumán, Catamarca, and Salta. There are important differences with the case at hand, however. The result of this process was the explicit recognition of the communal indigenous land rights by a provincial government, well into the independence era. The local authorities of the provincial government, including judges, departmental subdelegates, and commissars, not only presented the claims as representatives of the local people to the government in which they worked. Those officials also identified themselves as Indians or naturales. Finally, the decision and the recognition of rights were reached as a result of

arguments based on colonial Indian law and were carried through by an institution of the colonial era, the defensor or protector de indios.

In this respect, this case is a prime example of the centrality of the “Ancient Constitution,” the corpus of colonial law and the political and judicial institutions pertaining to Indians, as it applied to indigenous property during the development of the independent states in Spanish America and specifically in Argentina.⁶⁹ During the period examined here, from the late 1820s to the 1840s, the Lagunero authorities and their *protector* appealed to the principles of the Ancient Constitution to support the rights of lower-class groups paradoxically harmed by liberal principles, which in theory were supposed to broaden popular sovereignty.

As late as 1845 Villegas again requested the governor, who in previous years he called the last *protector*, to appoint a “person” and “citizen” to represent and defend the rights of the natives of Las Lagunas. Since the governor had assumed office to the present day, he wrote,

we have not had anyone to represent us and protect our interests. In view of this situation, I and the people I represent urgently need some *citizen* (as it has been the custom to call you and your predecessors since the end of the Spanish government) to take charge, care for, and favor the rights and privileges of the native population, which has increased considerably under such protection. These people have at the same time supported the provincial government, providing the services required of them, faithfully upholding the laws, and maintaining their religion as faithful Catholics should do, firm in their support for the holy cause of the Federation with their meager resources and their actions, of their own will and by orders of the Most Excellent Government on which they depend.⁷⁰

This appeal to the norms in effect since colonial times was not rhetoric of the kind used by caudillos or intellectuals when debating the legitimacy of the liberal reforms⁷¹ or the extension of state control over the country-

69. José Carlos Chiaramonte, “The ‘Ancient Constitution’ after Independence (1808–1852),” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90, no. 3 (2010): 455–88; Carlos J. Díaz Rementería, “Supervivencia y disolución de la comunidad de bienes indígena en la Argentina del siglo XIX,” *Revista de Historia del Derecho “Ricardo Levene”*, no. 30 (1995): 11–30.

70. “Don Domingo Villegas al Gobernador le solicita nombre a Don José Gabriel Puebla Protector de los naturales de las Lagunas,” Mendoza, 12 June 1845, AHM, carpeta 24, doc. 251.

71. José Carlos Chiaramonte, *Ciudades, provincias, estados: Orígenes de la Nación Argentina (1800–1846)* (Buenos Aires: Ariel, 1997), 159; Chiaramonte, “‘Ancient Constitution.’”

side.⁷² It was, rather, pragmatic language used by peasant and indigenous groups as much to demand their property rights as to highlight the judicial inequality that they thought had been aggravated by principles of citizenship and property rights that in theory were inclusive and egalitarian.

In challenging the prevailing idea of a general disregard for using the judicial process to resolve conflicts during the first decades after independence, some authors writing about other Latin American contexts show strong continuity in the use of courts during the postindependence civil wars, attributing this to the early success of liberal reforms and their spread into social issues.⁷³ The attitude of the Laguneros shows how social actors considered archetypes of the culture of violence or the militarization of politics nevertheless valued the judicial system and as standard practice used the courts to settle their claims. But we should think twice before assuming a relationship between liberal reforms and judicial culture that somehow fits with the classic notion that the caudillos promoted “barbarism” and the breakdown of institutions. In line with the positions José Carlos Chiaramonte has put forth on these matters, the body of law, institutions, political culture, and principles that the Laguneros called upon demonstrate that their claims were based much more on the Ancient Constitution than on concepts of citizenship and the roles of political actors associated with liberalism. The Lagunero judges and subdelegates themselves, although they were governmental authorities with police and judicial functions, did not present themselves as *citizens* but as *Indians* or *natives* who were legally incapable of defending their rights. They did, however, have the power to press for the reestablishment of the position of *protector* and the appointment of men to fill it, in addition to the power to move forward with legal proceedings that affected the interests of members of the governing elites, all in the context of great political instability and during the most violent periods of war.

The social and political significance of the Laguneros’ legal strategies would remain poorly understood if we think of them only in the general frameworks of either the Ancient Constitution or liberal reforms. As Laura Gotkowitz shows, the caciques who acquired power in Bolivia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, rather than merely continuing with the judicial traditions in place, creatively reappropriated them and actively adapted their own archival records and historical understanding to come up with new legal principles to guarantee their property rights. While some leaders acted as “caciques de

72. Sanjurjo, *La organización político-administrativa*, 46.

73. Reuben Zahler, “Liberal Justice: Judicial Reform in Venezuela’s Courts, 1786–1850,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90, no. 3 (2010): 489–522.

sangre” and invoked the “ancient laws of the Spanish Crown” and ancestral indigenous traditions, others appealed to “progress,” “civilization,” and “recent laws” to achieve nearly identical objectives.⁷⁴ Similarly, the Lagunero judges not only tried to construct their own judicial practices but also maneuvered with antagonistic political groups, including Federalists and Unitarians, liberals and traditionalists, to build their own power base.

Judges, Subdelegates, and Caciques? Lagunero Autonomy and Strategy in the Context of Civil War

As we have seen, although the 1838 decree recognized the Laguneros’ rights to their property, it did not explicitly recognize the ownership and possession that Escalante had sought. Nor did it restore the lands the Laguneros had lost to takeovers by outsiders. The decree declared that the territory would be “dedicated to the benefit” of the Laguneros, but it did not order that they be given legal title to the property. And while it ordered that no more surveys would be carried out, it left the Laguneros with that part of the land “that has not been privatized up to the present.” In other words, the decree implicitly legitimized the loss of land that had been demarcated and sold from the 1820s to 1838. The expropriations and land takeovers, in fact, had not stopped during the judicial process. In 1837, during the long wait for the court to issue its decision, the now-subdelegate Domingo Villegas (who as judge of the *reducción* in 1832 had requested Escalante’s appointment) complained of large-scale land takeovers carried out by important figures of provincial society in the most desirable parts of Lagunero land.⁷⁵ The first was by Luis Molina, son of Pedro Molina, the governor of the province. He had demarcated a strip that ran for eight leagues along the east bank of the Mendoza River, a strategic piece of land where the Laguneros pastured most of their cattle and received their water. When they found out about this action, the Lagunero judges complained that their people “would be boxed into a small plot that in addition to being so small is the worst land there, with sparse pasture and no water. . . . Luis Molina has said that he is going to turn the land over to General Félix Aldao. If that happens the people around here will have no place to put their livestock along the stretch of land that extends to the banks of the San Miguel River.”⁷⁶

74. Laura Gotkowitz, *A Revolution for Our Rights: Indigenous Struggles for Land and Justice in Bolivia, 1880–1952* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2007), 49–56.

75. “Domingo Villegas al gobernador le informa la alarma provocada en la población por problemas en el campo,” Mendoza, 31 July 1837, AHM, carpeta 574, doc. 25.

76. Ibid.

José Félix Aldao was the other important figure the Laguneros complained about. He was the representative of Juan Manuel de Rosas in Mendoza, and he largely controlled the Federalist governors in the region until his death in 1845. In stating his own indignation, Villegas reflected the anger and generalized concerns of the local people in language that was unusual for a subordinate official: "Your Excellency, I have not been able to believe that we would be totally deprived of the land. I have tried to convince the people here to calm down, until I receive word of Your Excellency's position on the matter."⁷⁷

Were the Laguneros Federalists? As I have indicated, they made their land claims during a period of intense political conflict in the region, with open warfare between Federalists and Unitarians and control of provincial governments rapidly changing from one party to the other. Most of the court proceedings took place during the Federalist governments of Pedro Molina in Mendoza and Nazario Benavides in San Juan at a time of relative stability under the Federal Pact, by which most provincial governments were controlled by men allied with Juan Manuel de Rosas in Buenos Aires. Also, if we go back to the request for a *protector* made to Pedro Molina in 1845, by which the process analyzed here was brought to a close, we see that Lagunero officials invoked the protection of the governor in view of services rendered "to the holy cause of the Federation." Taking these points into consideration, it would be tempting to advance the hypothesis that the Laguneros were allied with the Federalist Party during this period, supporting arguments such as those made by Ariel de la Fuente regarding the political affiliations of people in the countryside.⁷⁸ A brief analysis of the evolution of the Lagunero claims in the context of regional political history, however, suggests that party identification is not sufficient to explain their mobilization.

Beginning in 1832 Escalante resumed the post of *protector* and prepared the lawsuit in a Mendoza province governed by Federalist Pedro Molina, who was under the influence of Félix Aldao and thus indirectly of Rosas. The Laguneros, through local officials of the provincial government, succeeded in having their claims heard and submitted to the courts. The brief interregnum of the Unitarian government of Videla Castillo resulted in the postponement of the judicial process. It is significant, however, that the resumption of the lawsuit, along with the reinstatement of the position of protector de indios, took place shortly after Las Lagunas served as a refuge for the Federalist guerrillas who contributed to the victory of Quiroga and Benavides by successfully resisting Unitarian troop incursions and cutting their communications with San Juan. Many Lagune-

77. Ibid.

78. De la Fuente, *Children of Facundo*.

ros, as local literary traditions insist, joined the Federalist militias organized by Quiroga and Benavides.⁷⁹ Given some of the previous actions that Federalist governments took to repay debts owed to soldiers and other clients, the Laguneros might have received, or expected to receive, promises to have their land claims recognized in return for military services. This might have made it possible to obtain official recognition of such claims through “political arguments,” as Escalante suggested. Subdelegate Domingo Villegas apparently tried to make good on such a quid pro quo when in 1845, as we have seen, he asked Federalist governor Pedro Pascual Segura to appoint another *protector* to defend the native people who had “at the same time supported the provincial government, providing the services required of them . . . firm in their support for the holy cause of the Federation with their meager resources and their actions, of their own will and by orders of the Most Excellent Government on which they depend.”⁸⁰

But beyond the Federalist political environment and the public Lagunero claims being coterminous, we should also look at the existence of certain ambiguities in the relationship between the Laguneros and their leaders on one side and the Unitarian and Federalist parties on the other during the period of the lawsuit over land claims.

Juan Escalante, the *protector* expressly requested by the Lagunero judges and appointed during the Federalist government of Pedro Molina, had been part of the first group of *ilustrados* in Mendoza in the 1820s, participating in literary societies and liberal intellectual groups such as the Lancastrian Society, which in general supported the Unitarian opposition. As the owner of the only printing press in the province he edited and published the first newspapers in the area in 1820.⁸¹ The son of the governor himself, Luis Molina, who in 1836 was accused of usurping a huge swath of Lagunero land, had also been part of this early liberal coterie, and in 1862 Bartolomé Mitre and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento placed him as governor of Mendoza with the support of army troops from Buenos Aires. It is also notable that Villegas’s impertinent protests against abuses had not only criticized the governor’s son but also Félix Aldao, the highest representative of the Federalist cause in Mendoza.

These points suggest that Federalists were not always responsive to Lagunero demands, nor were liberals always opposed to them. It also seems evident that the people of Las Lagunas were viewed as a political problem not only by Unitarians but also by Federalists. During the nineteenth century, successive

79. Estrada, *Martina Chapamay*.

80. “Don Domingo Villegas al Gobernador le solicita nombre a Don José Gabriel Puebla,” Mendoza, 12 June 1845, AHM, carpeta 24, doc. 251.

81. They were titled *El Termómetro del Día* and *La Gaceta de Mendoza*.

provincial governments expended considerable effort to discipline and control Las Lagunas. Apart from the partisan struggles at the regional and national levels, the evolution of Lagunero demands seems to have been closely related to the progressive development of state strategies for the political and social control of the countryside and the similarly increasing pressure on Lagunero lands by both Federalist and Unitarian governments.

The 1828 request that a *protector* be appointed coincided with the first *reglamento de policia* in Mendoza. Broader than the exercise of police powers in the modern sense, this decree was intended to centralize state control more generally, especially in the countryside.⁸² Two years later, in August 1830, Unitarian governor Videla Castillo issued a decree to the judges of Las Lagunas to put a stop to “the frequent disorders that have been seen in the territory . . . very particularly with respect to private landed properties.”⁸³ The decree gave the judges important powers. Showing a special interest in controlling the area, the governor created the Military Command and Subdelegacy of Las Lagunas in October of the same year, which functioned until 1833.⁸⁴ In 1834, during the Federalist government of Pedro Molina, measures to increase state control of the countryside continued apace, with the *reglamento de estancias* regulating rural property rights and imposing land-use restrictions based on the number of livestock and the labor of nonowners.

Countering the predominant image of Federalist caudillos as the source of the breakdown of state institutions and as obstacles to the political organization of the national and provincial governments, historians have increasingly begun to see the 1830s and 1840s—the period of Juan Manuel de Rosas’s hegemony—as the origin of the early development of the Argentine state.⁸⁵ It is clear that many caudillos and provincial governments, as in San Juan and Mendoza, sought to build legitimacy by creating or strengthening institutions of government, administration, and judicial process. The subdelegates and judges, in this regard, were promoted as representatives of the provincial government

82. Sanjurjo, *La organización político-administrativa*.

83. Castillo, “Decreto gubernativo.”

84. Sanjurjo, *La organización político-administrativa*, 46, 49; “Decreto del gobernador provisorio Videla Castillo del 12 de octubre de 1930,” AHM, Registro Ministerial de Mendoza, 1822–1834.

85. See, inter alia, Tulio Halperin Donghi, *Revolución y guerra: Formación de una élite dirigente en la Argentina criolla* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 1972); Goldman and Salvatore, *Caudillismos rioplatenses*; Noemí Goldman, “Legalidad y legitimidad en el caudillismo: Juan Facundo Quiroga y La Rioja en el interior rioplatense (1810–1835),” *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana “Dr. Emilio Ravignani”*, 3rd ser., no. 7 (1993): 31–58.

in the countryside, supported as in Mendoza by laws and regulations intended to control the social and economic life of the population. Government officials, especially the subdelegates, who had accumulated multiple functions and reported directly to the minister of government like a chief of police,⁸⁶ also became the political extension of the governors or the caudillos who controlled them.⁸⁷ In addition to their function as tax collectors, the subdelegates also collected livestock, money, and men for the ongoing war.

But in the case examined here, the local agents of the state authority, since the very beginning of these efforts to develop institutions of government in the countryside, also channeled the demands of the population to the higher levels of the government. They sometimes did this in language that suggests a certain lack of respect or a veiled threat. The Lagunero judges and subdelegates received a reply that was institutional but also political. As Escalante himself and the language of the 1838 decree recognizing the land claims suggested, beyond the legal arguments it was necessary to attend to “political arguments,” as well as “the situation in which the natives of Las Lagunas find themselves” and “the powerful arguments they themselves have put forth in the presence of the subdelegate and their parish priest.” The officials, in turn, were always included as members of the indigenous community making the claims, and they identified themselves, even though sometimes in the rhetorical third person, as *Indians* or *natives*.

An apparent paradox is that the officials who were deployed as instruments of state control were the same people who defended the interests of the community in dealing with provincial elites and the state (whether Federalist or Unitarian). We might then ask what the true role was of the local judges and subdelegates, beyond being simply representatives of central authority. The first thing that stands out is that throughout the period under study both judges and subdelegates, and sometimes local commissars, took legal positions and submitted requests for recognition of Lagunero land rights against outside landholders. Secondly, there was considerable continuity in their positions as officeholders and local leaders, despite the decades of conflict and changes in party control of the government. The case of Domingo Villegas is the most prominent example. In 1819 he appeared for the first time, signing documents as “judge of the reducción of Asunción.”⁸⁸ He continued with that title until

86. Sanjurjo, *La organización político-administrativa*, 55.

87. Beatriz Bragoni, “Cuyo después de Pavón: Consenso, rebelión y orden político, 1861–1874,” in *Un nuevo orden político: Provincias y estado nacional, 1852–1880*, ed. Beatriz Bragoni and Eduardo Míguez (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2010), 29–60.

88. Isidro Maza, *Ensayo sobre la historia*, 109.

1832, when he requested that Escalante reassign him to the position of defender. In 1833, in documents relating to the murder of the judge of the *reducción* of Rosario, he appears as “judge of Las Lagunas de Guanacache.”⁸⁹ From 1837 to 1851 Villegas was a subdelegate, according to documents sent from the Subdelegacy of the Ninth Department made up of Asunción and Rosario. From 1851 to 1854 the departments of Las Lagunas and La Paz were joined to create the department of Rosario, with the town of La Paz as its seat. In 1855 the department was divided again, with Las Lagunas keeping the name Rosario, and Villegas was again designated as a subdelegate, a position he held until 1862, when Luis Molina became provincial governor. Thus Villegas spent 43 years as a local official, from the time of the government of General José de San Martín to the intervention in Cuyo after the defeat of the Federalists in the battle of Pavón and the beginning of the *montonero* rebellion led by Chacho Peñaloza.

From the fact that local subdelegates and judges continued to be key figures in the provincial government during a long period of considerable political instability, even while their demands challenged the interests of the regional landholding elite and the government itself, several possible conclusions may be drawn. First, it seems that the provincial government could not take control of the local population from outside. Instead, the state needed to negotiate with or recognize the authority of locally prominent figures, even though those local leaders questioned state control and the state’s very sovereignty in the area. Second, it is clear that through such officials, supported by local consensus, the *Laguneros* were brought into regional politics, at least partially. But most importantly, the *Laguneros*, identified as Indians in a society that had begun to deny their existence as indigenous people, had an uncommon degree of political acumen, ability to press for their interests, and autonomy with regard to the provincial governments and elites during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Final Words: Indian Judges, Creole Caciques

As we have seen, the documents from the Historical Archive of Mendoza relating to Juan Escalante’s lawsuit and the 1838 decision on land rights were included in a petition that residents of Las Lagunas de Guanacache submitted to the provincial government in 1879 demanding protection of their lands, which were being taken over at the time by landowners from San Juan. Two weeks ear-

89. “Salazar y Villegas al Gobernador,” Mendoza, 9 Aug. 1832, AHM, carpeta. 574, doc 8.

lier, in the northern part of Las Lagunas, San Juan militias had burned ranches and had gone after their occupants. The complaint implored that “the endless and constant outrages by people from outside our department be stopped.” It was submitted by Rosendo González, the acting commissar of Las Lagunas, and Juan de la Cruz, previous holder of that office, together with several local householders, fishermen, ranchers, and laborers of the northern part of Las Lagunas.⁹⁰

A few months earlier, the caudillo originally from Las Lagunas, José de los Santos Guayama, had been murdered in the San Juan police headquarters, which brought severe reprisals down on the Laguneros, including the killing of some of Guayama’s relatives and anyone with an obviously indigenous surname (such as Guaquinchay, Talquenca, Chapanay, and Allaimé). Since the late 1860s, Santos Guayama had kept the government of Cuyo, and at times the national government, on edge. His activities ranged from southern Córdoba to Salta in the north as the right-hand man of Felipe Varela. Las Lagunas de Guanacache was a permanent focus of rebellion beginning with the montonero uprisings of Chacho Peñaloza in 1862 and throughout the entire period of Guayama’s leadership. I will treat Guayama’s career in more depth in another work, but I want now to point out that he emerged just a few years after the most violent period of repression in Las Lagunas, which began in 1862, when governors Domingo F. Sarmiento in San Juan and Luis Molina in Mendoza (one of the landlords the Lagunero judges accused of usurping land in the 1830s) invaded Las Lagunas three times to prevent it from possibly joining Chacho Peñaloza.⁹¹ That was done, according to Molina, to “clean out the back lot of his estate” and depopulate Las Lagunas.⁹² Such repression, recalling old practices from colonial times, involved killing a few heads of households, capturing their young children of both sexes and distributing them as slaves, and rounding up all the livestock they could find.

Guayama’s military actions emerged for the first time on the regional stage with Felipe Varela’s rebellion in 1867; along with his famous Lagunero battalion, Varela became one of the key actors in battles such as Pozo de Vargas in Santiago del Estero and in the taking of the city of Salta, during his sad retreat toward Bolivia. But by the late 1860s and early 1870s Guayama was mainly active in San Juan and Mendoza, attacking haciendas, mule trains, and livestock herds or capturing towns and even the customs post at Uspallata Pass, which was

90. “Defensa realizada por el Defensor,” ff. 1–3.

91. Escolar, *Los dones étnicos*, 142–43.

92. Molina, quoted in *ibid.*, 143.

the key to trade between Mendoza and Chile. Las Lagunas was always where Guayama holed up and kept control, persecuting local government authorities such as subdelegates and commissars. With a variable guerrilla band recruited among young Laguneros, old montoneros, and the drovers from captured mule trains, and with the support of important political contacts, he controlled not only Guanacache but most of the countryside of San Juan and northern Mendoza as well from the late 1860s and through the 1870s.

Two questions are left for further research. The first is whether there were conflicts between montonero leaders such as Guayama and political authorities such as Villegas. On this issue, we can say that the ending of Villegas's term in office coincided with liberal control after the battle of Pavón, specifically with the invasion of the interior by the army of Buenos Aires and the repression in Las Lagunas. In contrast to Villegas, who lived in Las Lagunas, the new departmental subdelegates were landholders located in the region of the richest lands in the southern part of the department near the city of Mendoza, which became the department's political center and continues to be so today. During the time Villegas was in charge, when Federalist governments were in power, there was none of the antagonism that occurred after 1862, when commissars and subdelegates were harassed and at times killed by Guayama or his troops. All evidence seems to indicate the breakdown of a tacit political agreement, which coincided not only with the push by the provincial and national governments to control and collect taxes from the region and its population, but also with the emerging political power of the landowners and cattle ranchers of the southern part of the province.

The second question is whether there was a connection between the indigenous claims for lands by Laguneros and the rebellious activities of the caudillo Guayama. This is more difficult to answer, because other than a few ambiguous references in modern Lagunero oral tradition, I have not yet found any conclusive evidence that Guayama continued an explicit strategy of defending indigenous lands in Las Lagunas by military means. It is well known, however, that only after Guayama's death in 1879 did new Lagunero leaders again petition the government as representatives of their community based on the documents in the Lagunero archives used in earlier complaints and judicial appeals. One of the two delegates listed in this petition, Juan Pelaytay (or Peletay), had from the early 1870s until a few months prior to the petition been the commissar of the Lagunas del Rosario zone. His ranches, or those of his workers, were the main ones burned by the militias and landowners of San Juan on the banks of Lagunas del Rosario. It is suggestive that while Pelaytay survived in office during the

period of Guayama's control, he left his official position and was attacked by militias from San Juan not long after the caudillo's assassination.

Although there is a wide gap in the historical record, it is possible to find repeated references in modern oral tradition as well as in regional literature since the second half of the nineteenth century to the image of Lagunero autonomy and its association with indigenous ways and political culture.

Similar to what appears in some literary works from the first half of the twentieth century, old Laguneros commonly refer to Santos Guayama and the local officials of his era as "caciques" or "Huarpe caciques." According to these traditions Guayama was the leader of the Laguneros or Huarpes who put up a bold defense of their lands and controlled Las Lagunas for decades.⁹³ Lagunero elders also maintain that the heads of local clans had commonly held government positions in the region since colonial times. An example is Juan Manuel Villegas, Domingo Villegas's son, who still in the 1930s was considered the principal landholder and authority, although the only official position he is known to have held was trustee of the chapel of Rosario de Las Lagunas. Juan Manuel Villegas's portrait was the prototype of the Huarpe Vestiges series by the Catalan painter Fidel Roig Matons, painted in the time when Villegas showed up in Mendoza with a hundred Laguneros to once again demand protection of their land and water rights.⁹⁴

Sarmiento, in explaining the emergence of Chacho Peñaloza's montoneras in 1862, repeatedly referred to Guanacache and its particular local autonomy as a Huarpe redoubt, going so far as to invent the term *lagunatos* to refer to their combined ethnic, geographical, and political identity.⁹⁵ Pedro Echagüe, in commenting on the story of Martina Chapanay, a rural Huarpe heroine of the nineteenth century, described Las Lagunas as follows:

The people lived there as a family. . . . His neighbors had elected [Juan Chapanay] justice of the peace of the place, as the Laguneros in those days were a sort of tiny independent republic that elected their own authorities. The provincial court system intervened only in cases of serious crimes or robberies, through a staff official. . . . The clash of arms did not disturb the tranquility of those places. Even when caudillo activity upset the whole country, the Laguneros remained a peaceful

93. Ibid., 93–98.

94. Ibid.; Fidel A. Roig et al., *Guanacache: Fidel Roig Matóns, pintor del desierto* (Mendoza, Argentina: EDIUNC, 1999); Carlos Rusconi, *Poblaciones pre y posthispánicas de Mendoza*, vol. 1, *Etnografía* (Mendoza, Argentina: Imprenta Oficial, 1961).

95. Sarmiento, *Vidas de Fray Félix Aldao*, esp. 85.

people, fishermen and herders isolated from the rest of the world on the shores of their lakes.⁹⁶

In this version the protagonist's father, who is called a Huarpe cacique,⁹⁷ is elected justice of the peace.

Undoubtedly the role of judges and other local authorities in the nineteenth century depended on the community's consensus, the authority's leadership qualities, and, especially, the ability to mediate political issues attributed to the caciques in various contexts, among independent indigenous groups as well as those that had long been incorporated into state structures.

Despite the narrative of extinction, the identification of the Laguneros and much of the rural population as indigenous does not seem to have been simply an invention by Sarmiento. In the era when *protector* Escalante developed his defense of the Lagunero Indians and Sarmiento constructed the typology of the gaucho as he wrote the Argentine nation (in Tulio Halperin's phrase) in *Facundo*, many parishes in San Juan and Mendoza baptized babies who were classified as Indians and kept parish registers organized by ethnic *casta*. The Lagunero authorities themselves apparently promoted such ascription. The appointment of 1828 had initially called Escalante the "*protector* of the residents of Las Lagunas de Guanacache." But justice of the peace Miguel González in 1828, as well as Villegas and Salazar in 1832, referred to themselves as delegates "of this reducción" or reducciones, invoking an indigenous identity. And finally the decree ratifying the land claim designated Escalante as "*protector* of the native peoples of Las Lagunas de Guanacache."

The federal governments of the time established a framework that was favorable to dealing with community claims. That happened not only because of the party affiliation of the Laguneros but also because during the period new government institutions and practices were developed that gave rural peasant and indigenous groups either access to the courts or a paradoxical degree of inclusion, even as they maintained relative autonomy.

Did the principles and procedures of the *derecho indiano* tradition promote the Indianization of the Laguneros? Or did the Laguneros themselves, self-identifying as Indians, invoke the legal system that recognized indigenous "rights and privileges" as one of several strategies of resistance? What is certain is that the troubled development of state-building strategies and republi-

96. Pedro Echagüe, *Dos novelas regionales* (1931; Buenos Aires: Jackson, 1936), 95.

97. Estrada, *Martina Chapanay*; Julio Fernández Peláez, *Martina Chapanay, poema histórico* (Mendoza, Argentina: Best, 1934).

can institutions, as well as increasing pressure for the privatization of land the Laguneros had occupied, was the context in which local authorities or leaders succeeded in having their land claims heard. It was also important that in a region and period (the 1830s) in which indigenous communities were considered nonexistent, the Laguneros obtained recognition of their rights to the land "since time immemorial."

The memory of those struggles and their archival record continued to be operative through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, despite their apparent disappearance. Between the petition of 1879 and the reappearance of the Lagunero archives in the 1920s, Rosendo González, who had organized the 1879 petition, submitted a new request to the government in 1900 asking for recognition of property in the countryside of El Rosario based on "community rights that are and have been protected since time immemorial."⁹⁸ There was no clear suggestion of indigenous identity in this petition, but it ended in the colonial-era formula found in claims by the Lagunero judges and the *protector* since 1828: "We ask for favor and justice" (*Es gracia y justicia que pedimos*).

98. "Expediente sobre derechos de posesión de los campos del Rosario," 1900, AHM, carpeta 578, doc. 3.

Book Reviews

General and Sources

Historia de las Antillas no hispanas. Edited by ANA CRESPO SOLANA and MARÍA DOLORES GONZÁLEZ-RIPOLL. *Historia de las Antillas*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas / Ediciones Doce Calles, 2012. Photographs. Plates. Illustrations. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. 638 pp. Paper, €33.65.

This volume should interest many Latin Americanists not only because it provides a detailed overview of the history of a large part of the Caribbean from late precolonial through postcolonial times, but also because it does so from an unusual perspective. The extensive Spanish-language literature on the Caribbean more typically treats Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic. And, in fact, the three other volumes of this series synthesize the scholarship for each of those former colonies: the first, on Cuba, appeared in 2009 and was edited by Consuelo Naranjo Orovio, who is also the general editor of the series; the second, on the Hispanic portion of Hispaniola, was edited by Frank Moya Pons and came out in 2010; and the fourth, on Puerto Rico, should be available soon. In contrast, the cosmopolitan group of historians who authored the 20 chapters of this third volume in the series mainly draws on the literatures in English, French, and Dutch that address the non-Hispanic Antilles colonized by the northern European metropolises. Such a diversity of secondary sources brought together in a single volume conceived by historians at the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Spain's national research council, provides a distinctive interpretation and unique resource.

In the introduction, Ana Crespo Solana and María Dolores González-Ripoll provide a brief editorial synopsis of the volume's expansive and complex topic. It spans the late fifteenth century through the late twentieth century, and it concerns the colonial projects of the British, French, Dutch, German, Swedish, and Danish metropolises. Each of them exhibited a great deal of dynamism, both internally and in relation to one another and to the Spanish Caribbean. Together they dominated that region from the arc of the Lesser Antilles in the east to Jamaica and the Cayman Islands in the west, Haiti in the north, and the *Benedenwindse* (Leeward) Netherlands Antilles in the south. They included diverse environments, from places with fertile soils and humid climates to those with infertile soils and little rainfall. And those differing colonial projects, locations, and

environments resulted in economies, societies, and cultures as distinct as Haiti, Barbados, and Aruba.

The volume covers that diversity with a series of 20 chapters divided into 4 parts. The parts on the French, British, and Dutch colonies follow the same general sequence of topics, with five or six chapters respectively addressing population, social structure, economy, politics, and culture, although, at times, the authors combine some of these themes into a single chapter or spread certain aspects, such as literary culture and cultural identity, across two chapters. In contrast, the part on Swedish, Danish, and Germanic colonization contains only a single chapter on each, probably appropriate given their limited involvement in the Caribbean relative to the other three countries. Each of the four parts includes informative tables and graphs as well as high-quality reproductions of historic maps, paintings, photographs, and other illustrations, many in full color, which nicely complement the text. Not a single original map, however, helps readers to locate and understand the spatial arrangements and relationships of the places discussed.

Environmental history does not receive the same degree of attention as demographic, political, social, economic, and cultural history. Authors do touch on such matters as deforestation when discussing economic processes and cite some of the principal contributions to the region's environmental history. But such brief treatment cannot provide an understanding of the region's environmental diversity and dynamism in relation to other aspects of its history.

The limited engagement with environmental history aside, the organizational framework of the volume has inherent advantages and disadvantages. Most basically, it makes information on particular topics for each colonial realm easy to locate despite the poor index but, by the same token, results in repetition because each chapter author provides similar general context for processes specific to particular colonies. More problematically, the organizational framework obscures the relationships among the various colonial projects and prevents authors from fully developing topics of regional scope, such as the creative tension between creole social relations and transatlantic ones central to the emergence of novel societies across the Caribbean. To be fair, however, this volume is but one in a series conceived as a whole, and the projected fifth and final volume, entitled *Historia comparada de las Antillas* and scheduled for publication in 2013, will doubtlessly provide more comparative and relational interpretations on such topics as creolization and emancipation.

Overall, the editors and authors have delivered an extremely useful resource. Despite nearly 550 pages of text, the subject is so large and complex that many readers will doubtlessly desire more attention to particular topics or places of personal interest. And a bibliography of even some 50 pages cannot include all relevant publications. Nonetheless, the volume synthesizes and interprets much of the pertinent literature for students and scholars working in Spanish and makes a key contribution to integrating Atlantic historiographies.

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Colonial Period

The Return of Hans Staden: A Go-between in the Atlantic World. By EVE M. DUFFY and ALIDA C. METCALF. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xv, 192 pp. Paper, \$25.00.

Eve Duffy and Alida Metcalf have created an engaging and highly readable analysis of the famous sixteenth-century book *True History*, the author who wrote it, and the process by which the book came to be published. In many ways this study may be read as a sequel to Alida Metcalf's wonderful book *Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil: 1500–1600* (2006). Indeed Duffy and Metcalf argue that Hans Staden “can be best understood as a go-between” (p. 9) and that his role as an intermediary shifted and evolved during his captivity and afterward. He served as a physical go-between as he experienced what to him was a new and strange land. During his captivity among the Tupinambá, Staden acted as a transactional go-between as he mediated, translated, and managed affairs between the Tupinambá and the Europeans in Brazil. In the process he resorted to lies, deceptions, and dissimulation while attempting to manage affairs in such a way that his life might be spared and he might eventually escape his captors. After his return to Europe and with the publication of his book *True History*, Staden became a representational go-between. His account contained detailed descriptions with elaborate and intricate woodcuts representing a reality still foreign to the readers of Europe. Staden revealed a land where men and women went naked without shame, built palisaded villages, and ate each other. At the same time, he presented a stereotypical captivity narrative in which God's mercy continually saves Staden from a horrific death and leads to his eventual redemption.

The authors do more than simply recount Staden's adventures. They also weave in the broader historical context that produced and shaped Staden. This context included his home in Germany, his profession as a gunner, the broader Atlantic world, the indigenous societies of Brazil, and the publishing world of early modern Europe. The authors trace Staden's journey from Hesse to Portugal to Brazil and back again while paying close attention to the details of his experience. They make a strong case that Staden actively participated in the production of his book, thus making him a true representational go-between.

While Staden's German context both before and after his captivity in Brazil receive considerable attention, the culture and history of the Tupinambá, with whom he spent the months of his captivity and about whom the *True History* is written, receive considerably less discussion. The one chapter devoted to Staden's captivity among the Tupinambá emphasizes a recounting of Staden's story with short asides about Tupinambá culture, including an understandable emphasis on cannibalism. Still, the authors missed the opportunity to evaluate the accuracy of Staden's depictions of Tupinambá life and to represent the complexity of Tupinambá spiritual and cultural worlds to an audience that is still, for the most part, hampered by the savagery versus civilization dichotomy presented in Staden's narrative and images.

Nonetheless, this work is a triumph of scholarly collaboration that reveals the uncommon history of a common soldier entangled in the much larger historical trends that would reshape cultures on both sides of the Atlantic—cultures still struggling to make sense of one another.

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Queequeg's Coffin: Indigenous Literacies and Early American Literature.

By BIRGIT BRANDER RASMUSSEN. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.

Illustrations. Maps. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiv, 207 pp. Paper, \$23.95.

At its heart, *Queequeg's Coffin* calls for recognition of alternative, indigenous literacies in the Americas both prior to European penetration and during the period of contact between indigenous Americans and Europeans (and Americans of European descent). Specifically, this interesting new study examines literacy as a contested arena defined by the dialogue, or lack thereof, between indigenous and European forms of literacy and the consequences of such encounters in North and South America. The need for such analysis, the author notes in the opening stages of the work, stems from the condition that “textual and literary exchanges constitute an important and neglected aspect of American literary history in large part because scholars have inadequately explored the extent to which Europeans who arrived in the Americas encountered literate cultures” (p. 2).

Queequeg's Coffin, though rather brief in length, remains sufficiently dense to offer complex analysis of the interplay between European and indigenous modes of writing and of how, with the initiation of European contact with indigenous Americans, writing became an important “marker of reason and civilization” for European occupiers, conquerors, and their descendants (p. 19). A chapter on “Writing and Colonial Conflict” raises worthwhile, though—for Latin Americanists—not necessarily revisionist, points regarding the European valuation of indigenous (nonalphabetic) writing and how “Europe and its descendants in the Americas developed a ‘possessive investment’ in writing as a marker of reason and civilization” (p. 19). Initially, intentional European invalidation of (and ignorance about) indigenous writing served not only to supplement European seizures of native lands, attempts at political and cultural hegemony, and forced religious conversion, but also to enable generations of scholarly bias concerning the validity of precontact indigenous writing. The author counters this traditionally limited understanding of indigenous writing systems by analyzing various examples of native literacy from across the Americas, demonstrating both their contrasts with European forms of writing and their internal structures that mark them as valid means of writing. For example, although indigenous writing appeared on tree bark in the northeastern woodlands of North America rather than in leather-bound volumes arriving by ship across the Atlantic, this does not discount the existence of native forms of writing prior to the arrival of Europeans. Furthermore, because such forms of writing were dis-

played for public consumption, indigenous literacy in North America could well have been much broader than in Mesoamerica or some parts of Europe. Not only did these forms of writing endure despite native loss of political and economic autonomy, but, in some cases, indigenous writing even contributed to a dialogue—or more specifically, in Rasmussen's words, an "inter-animation"—with European writing, in which writing from both cultures informed and shaped the other.

Additional sections of the study consider other cases, notably the seventeenth-century peace councils between the Haudenosaunee and French who had settled along the St. Lawrence River. Rasmussen shows how such councils reflected more than mere delineation of territory and behavior, as they also represented efforts by the sides to "enroll and inscribe each other in their respective textual systems" (p. 51). Fascinating in this section is the comparative textual analysis of Haudenosaunee wampum and French alphabetic script. Rasmussen concludes that because these disparate forms of writing served similar ends, they could achieve a meaningful level of "inter-animation" that infused the completed peace treaty with the voices of its indigenous and European authors. Importantly, each of these voices reveals elements of the other. Such findings provide yet another example of how the character of colonial encounters, even if these encounters explicitly favored European protocol, were implicitly altered and shaped by indigenous participants.

For the Latin Americanist, Rasmussen's consideration of don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's appeal to Spain's King Philip III stands as both the most direct connection to his or her field and the least revisionist section of the work. This is not to suggest that there is nothing new here. For example, the author's contention that "analysis of Guaman Poma's work reveals that the textual logic of quipus structures his manuscript in significant ways" (p. 80) proves interesting in light of the widely held notion that Guaman Poma appealed to the Spanish king through European communicative channels. Yet a greater degree and complexity of historical context would render some of the conclusions regarding tone and mood less speculative. This criticism, though, stems from conflicting notions of analysis between author and reviewer rather than any qualitative shortcomings of Rasmussen's work.

This book stands as a significant (and, hopefully, not solitary) foray into what could and should be a growing corpus of scholarship on indigenous and alternative literacies in the Americas. It posits new questions and innovative approaches for the study of native literacy and serves to illustrate with a broad brush the heretofore underappreciated complexity of native writing and literacy in both North and Latin America.

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Modos de ser, modos de ver: Viajantes europeus e escravos africanos no Rio de Janeiro (1808–1850). By ENEIDA MARIA MERCADANTE SELA. Campinas, Brazil: Editora UNICAMP, 2008. Illustrations. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. 422 pp. Paper, R\$40.00.

When in 1808 the Portuguese court, aided by the British navy, fled Napoleon's armies and escaped to Rio de Janeiro, the city went from being a colonial capital to being the seat of a far-flung empire. Brazilian ports, previously allowed to trade only through Portugal, were opened to direct trade with other countries. The first press was established, initially to publish government paperwork but soon to publish works of all kinds. Foreigners came from Britain, France, Germany, and North America to see this tropical place, to be dazzled and shocked by its exoticism. They described in words, paint, and drawings what they saw, and they published their accounts for readers at home. Rio de Janeiro became a favorite stopping place, with travelers sometimes passing through, while others who came as part of artistic or scientific missions might stay for several years. Those who went to Rio de Janeiro in the first half of the nineteenth century are the subject of Eneida Maria Mercadante Sela's book. Having read widely and deeply in the prolific and multilingual literature generated by these visitors, she begins with the idea that their work, taken collectively, comprises a literary genre, which she investigates in order to discover its patterns, its elements, its ethnocentricities. She narrows her focus, though, to what these writers and artists said about slaves and slavery, about the ever-increasing numbers of imported Africans in the city.

But she goes further. Her declared purpose is to make a contribution to the historiography of slavery by evaluating this literature as evidence for the practices of slavery and for slave life in early nineteenth-century Rio (pp. 34, 404). The words and images, she warns, do not always say or portray what they seem to, and they come heavily freighted with assumptions, judgments, prejudices, premises, and experiences that filter what is seen and commented on. Take, for example, the pipe-smoking market woman with her wide-brimmed hat and her bare shoulder, who appears in various accounts, her image borrowed and reproduced, until she ceases to be a particular slave woman and becomes a type. Despite the authors' differences in profession, nationality, or length of stay, there is among them a convergence of views, Sela argues. The originality, and hence the reliability, of their description is compromised or at least made questionable.

To set the stage, she traces the trajectory through scientific and aesthetic writing in eighteenth-century France, in which notions of race and color hardened into categories of inferiority. This is a task worth doing, she tells us, because most of the European visitors whose accounts she examines, born in the last 20 years of the eighteenth century, would have been exposed to and absorbed these ideas. It is a tricky argument to make stick in the best of cases. Do we know that particular people actually read and accepted certain ideas, especially when many of the visitors she examines came not from France, but from England, Germany, and North America? Intellectual formation is difficult to discover and was likely not as homogeneous as she suggests. But still, she introduces some of the ideas that were in the air at the time.

In an age that believed in the classification of information, the writers and illustrators of travel accounts sought to distinguish races, tribes, and nations by their defining characteristics, a task some managed with greater nuance than others. They worked with what was readily visible to them—body type, facial features, hair texture, labor, and dress—and some observers even distinguished the facial scarifications that identified cultural and regional differences among Africans. But classification seldom remained neutral and travelers also recorded their prejudices or revealed their distaste for particular facial features or black skin. Their distance from actual Africans is obvious here: they do not describe food preferences or child-rearing practices among slaves or African notions of beauty or honor, but they instead are content with what can be neatly fitted into their taxonomies.

Sela stops exactly when I wanted more. If this vast, dense literature is dangerous because of its borrowings and unexamined assumptions, then can we not use it at all? Do these authors and illustrators, who as outsiders noticed and commented on details of daily life that locals took for granted or thought trivial and unworthy of mention, not provide irreplaceable sources? And don't historians typically question the premises of their sources? Are letters, notary records, ministerial reports, and postmortem inventories any less suspect in their own ways? A single extended example through which Sela might demonstrate not only the traps but also the possibilities of these accounts as sources for historians would have been instructive. Perhaps this is what she intends to do with her announced next project on one of the best-known and most cited travel writers, Maria Graham.

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Chiricahua and Janos: Communities of Violence in the Southwestern Borderlands, 1680–1880. By LANCE R. BLYTH. Borderlands and Transcultural Studies. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012. Maps. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xiv, 277 pp. Cloth, \$60.00.

Lance Blyth revisits the Chihuahua–Arizona–New Mexico area at the center of William B. Griffen's *Apaches at War and Peace: The Janos Presidio, 1750–1858* (1988), employing the concept of communities of violence and informed by the work of James Brooks, Pekka Hämäläinen, Brian DeLay, and Juliana Barr, among others. According to Blyth, since “violence is instrumental in establishing, maintaining, and changing relationships both within and between communities,” it can be seen as a tool in the “human survival toolkit” (p. x). Studying how communities used and accommodated violence in the past, the author argues, has merit for understanding how violence fulfills similar purposes today. He consequently attempts to tell the story of Indian and Hispanic communities in a balanced way, and for most of the book he succeeds in that effort.

The Janos of the title refers to the presidio community of San Felipe y Santiago de

Janos in northern Chihuahua, near the present border with New Mexico and Arizona. In 1580 Franciscans began working with the local Jano and Jcome Indians, but the mission was destroyed in 1680 by Apaches during the Pueblo Revolt. Blyth's book begins with the establishment of a presidio at the site of the former mission settlement during Spanish efforts to reassert control over the area. Nearby, along the Mimbres and upper Gila Rivers, lived bands of Athapaskan-speaking people who came to be known as Chiricahua. Like the Spanish settlers at Janos, they too were not native to the region, having arrived in the area sometime in the seventeenth century. Also like the Spanish colonials, they incorporated local Janos, Jcomes, and other band peoples into their communities, which led to the disappearance of the aboriginal groups in the course of the eighteenth century.

The early part of the book effectively illustrates how violence was used by both Hispanics and Chiricahuas to accomplish their particular economic and social ends. Raiding provided resources that could not be acquired otherwise, particularly human resources in the form of captives. Violence could also serve as a prelude to negotiations that resulted in long-term truces. Among Chiricahuas violence was a necessary aspect of the rite of passage to adulthood and, therefore, the acquisition and maintenance of a family. Similarly, for Hispanic males military service, with its acceptance of violence, provided employment and thereby the ability to support a family.

The middle part of the book focuses on how the Spanish colonial state, lacking the necessary resources to eliminate the Chiricahuas, settled on a carrot-and-stick policy of peace establishments. Apaches willing to settle down near Hispanic settlements such as Janos would receive rations and gifts and be given wide latitude; those at war with the state would be persecuted to extermination. In the long run, the policy proved unworkable, and both sides escalated violence to carry out community goals. During the first decades of Mexican independence, the new state government of Chihuahua even attempted a bounty system to deal with noncompliant Apaches that attracted American scalp hunters.

In the latter part of the book Blyth introduces a new factor affecting relations between Janeros and Chiricahuas: the creation of a United States–Mexico border that effectively bisected what might be called the Chiricahua homeland. The author does not present Americans as part of a full-fledged community of violence, and that is disappointing, since Blyth makes reference to both Apache raids on American settlements, ranches, and stagecoaches and American campaigns against Chiricahua groups. Analyzing American attitudes toward violence would have provided a clearer understanding of how Apaches came to be caught between Mexican and American national states that between them broke down the Chiricahuas' ability to resist. As presented, the final chapters of the book become a rushed recitation of Apache movements north and south of the US border and onto and off reservations as Chiricahua leaders attempted to preserve autonomy of action.

Built on solid archival research and making good use early on of Chiricahua oral tradition, *Chiricahua and Janos* adds to the growing body of United States–Mexico

borderlands studies focused on indigenous autonomy of action. Blyth presents the symbiotic relationship based on violence between the people of Janos and the Chiricahua as both natural and rational. And, he asserts, there lies a lesson for understanding today's communities of violence in the region: drug cartels. The vengeance and retaliation that drove much Chiricahua and Hispanic violence in previous centuries are at work today among and between narco-syndicates and the Mexican state. Blyth's communities-of-violence approach thus offers a valuable analytical framework for addressing the tangled interrelationships of sovereign peoples operating in the same geographical space.

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National Period

Home Grown: Marijuana and the Origins of Mexico's War on Drugs. By ISAAC CAMPOS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012. Illustrations. Figures. Tables. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 331 pp. Cloth, \$39.95.

Just about anyone who has seen the film *Reefer Madness* is in on the joke. Since its rediscovery at the Library of Congress in the 1970s, the film's portrayal of people going insane after smoking marijuana has amused audiences as an absurd depiction of the drug. Yet Isaac Campos paused to ask a set of questions with direct bearing on the origins of both the idea of marijuana's dangerousness and the current "war on drugs." Why did nineteenth-century Mexican newspapers and medical reports associate pot smoking with madness? What accounts for the universally negative portrayals of marijuana not only in Mexico but also elsewhere in the world? Why were such reports rarely subject to scrutiny? Is it possible that in certain places and times, marijuana does cause serious psychiatric crisis? These questions, Campos argues, are essential to understanding the antidrug and prohibitionist policies of the United States. Campos demonstrates that the origins of these policies derive from Mexican antimarijuana attitudes in the mid-nineteenth century.

Spanish settlers brought hemp to Mexico for rope and sail materials, but the plant found a warm reception among some indigenous groups who had a long tradition of using psychoactive substances for ritual and medicinal purposes. By the nineteenth century, smoking marijuana had become commonplace among economically and socially marginal peoples.

Campos lays out a clear picture of the scientific understanding of how and why people react to marijuana. Set, which refers to the user's biological predispositions, setting, and the placebo effect all help to produce an individual's response to smoking cannabis. Reactions to marijuana can be shaped not only by the particular chemical composition of what is being smoked but also by cultural expectations and context and the individual

user's biochemistry. Such considerations would seem elemental to understanding the history of intoxicants.

When Campos turns his attention to nineteenth-century Mexico, however, his analytical framework shifts from marijuana's effects on users to the portrayal of these effects by the media and medical practitioners. By the time of the Porfiriato, the Mexican press universally and unquestioningly reported that marijuana caused individuals to descend into manic and psychotic states. Medical reports on marijuana use offered similar findings. Campos acknowledges that it is difficult to dissect these reports to determine whether marijuana actually produced the behavior or simply received the blame, in reality being only a contributing or incidental factor.

Regardless, over the course of the nineteenth century marijuana use came to be closely associated with poor people of color, especially soldiers, prisoners, and female indigenous herbal healers. The first two groups were carefully monitored and controlled and thus came to the attention of those interested in the drug's deleterious effects; moreover, soldiers and convicts lived in inherently violent settings. Herbal healers, often based in poor and indigenous neighborhoods, were targeted as purveyors of the substance. The most famous of these women was the transnational trafficker Lola "La Chata," whose story Elaine Carey has chronicled elsewhere. Marijuana's association with the poor, the criminal, and the indigenous no doubt contributed to the drug's insertion into the language of racial degeneration.

With the passage of the Dispositions on the Cultivation and Commerce of Products that Degenerate the Race in 1920, the Mexican government made marijuana a controlled substance. That alcohol escaped a similar fate is the result of its broader acceptance and its importance as a source of revenue. Historians have erroneously assumed that the law, which also targeted cocaine and other intoxicants, emerged from foreign pressures and models. Rather, it was a largely homegrown project that fit logically with postrevolutionary efforts to revivify the Mexican populace.

While Mexico banned marijuana for their own reasons, the country's press managed to exert an important influence upon US attitudes toward the drug. Campos tells the fascinating story of how US newspapers picked up sensationalist accounts of marijuana rampages from English-language papers in Mexico City. What started as brief sideline articles about murder and mayhem seeped into the discourses of medicine and law enforcement. Paradoxically, the association of Mexican migrants with the dangerous weed was a product of Mexican perceptions of the drug. And just as Mexican elites had stigmatized nonwhites as degenerate drug abusers, the US press and law enforcement would do the same to Mexicans residing in the United States.

Campos has reconfigured our understanding of the flow of ideas about marijuana. Mexican journalists and doctors generated ideas that were consumed in the United States. And professionals on both sides of the border effectively shut down any rational discussion of ways to address drug abuse through medical treatments. Unfortunately Campos does not mention the very fine work of historian Elaine Carey. In particular, Carey's analysis of how US pressure on Mexico shaped the latter's drug policies receives

no mention. Her argument that the Mexican government felt compelled to curb drug trafficking in part to keep the peace with its northern neighbor merits discussion.

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El exilio incómodo: México y los refugiados judíos, 1933–1945. By DANIELA GLEIZER.
Mexico City: El Colegio de México / Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Cuajimalpa, 2011. Notes. Bibliography. 321 pp. Paper.

Two passenger vessels docked at the port of Veracruz, Mexico, in the third week of June 1939. On board of one, the SS *Sinaia*, were some 1,600 Spanish republican refugees; on board the other, the SS *Flandres*, were 98 Jewish refugees. The government of President Lázaro Cárdenas accepted the Spanish asylum seekers and turned away the persecuted Jewish refugees. Daniela Gleizer has chosen the latter as the subject of her research.

In her introduction, the author promises to explore three interlocked arenas in order to reveal Mexico's policies regarding the rescue of Jews during the Holocaust: Mexico's laws and officialdom, from Presidents Cárdenas and Manuel Ávila Camacho down to their ministers and the various official agencies; the political parties and associations, public opinion, and the press; and the Jewish community in Mexico, including its activities and impact on the final balance of the rescue. The author also shares nine hypotheses that emerged during the preliminary stage of her work and that guided her research, one being that Mexico's acceptance of many thousands of Spanish republican refugees exhausted the country's ability to receive Jewish refugees. Based on all the relevant official archives in Mexico and the United States, the Mexican Jewish community's papers, and an extensive bibliography, the author describes and analyzes in the following chapters the role of each of the actors in the three arenas.

Reviewing the Mexican legislation regarding immigration, Gleizer found that already in 1934 Jews were marked as undesirables whose entrance to Mexico should be prevented. Later legal dispositions erected a wall against Jewish immigrants even before a real demand for asylum was raised by Jewish refugees. Mexican laws did not recognize *refugee* as a category apart from *immigrant*, so there was no judicial basis for accepting the asylum claims of Jewish refugees. Both the ideology and politics of *mestizaje*, which were intended to create the Mexican race, and anti-Semitic stereotypes allowed Mexicans to avoid any emphatic consideration of the plight of Jewish immigrants. Right-wing pro-fascist associations, the press, legislators, and public opinion shared these views, as did many government officials. The Secretary for the Interior, Ignacio García Téllez, was among them, and he was in charge of immigration.

Nevertheless, Gleizer identifies more than one voice among officialdom regarding the Jews. For instance, a large project for an agricultural settlement of 1,500 Jewish immigrant families was elaborated. It was to be financed by the American Joint Jewish Distribution Committee and supported by other American organizations. It was

intended to include an equal number of Mexican settlers, mostly from those repatriated from the United States. The Jewish settlers were to be selected very carefully, and their farms were to be located among the Mexicans to stimulate both their assimilation and mestizaje. Guided by his own reasons, the governor of Tabasco, the Mexican state hosting the project, was an enthusiastic supporter, and President Cárdenas offered his approval. But on November 17, 1939, the news leaked to the press, and there arose a vehement, almost violent reaction. This caused Cárdenas to retreat, and the project was laid to rest.

The analysis of activities in the third arena—the Jewish community's efforts on behalf of the refugees—forms one of the great merits of this study. According to estimates, the total number of Jews who lived in Mexico in 1940 was 18,000, with only 2,000 there in 1920. Very few were Mexican citizens, and the community had no political power and very little local connections. Nevertheless, Mexican Jewish organizations, with the help of their American Jewish counterparts, supported many of the refugees who had managed to disembark in Mexican ports. The institutions were also instrumental in helping a certain number of Jewish refugees to be allowed off board. The total number of Jews rescued from the Holocaust due to legal or illegal entry into Mexico was just 2,000 persons, and the Jewish community had a considerable role in preventing the expulsion of many of them.

Gleizer declares that her study does not deal with the Spanish refugees. Nevertheless, in her "Final Considerations" she offers only a suggestion that Cárdenas's activities on behalf of the Spaniards exhausted his abilities to act on behalf of the Jews. The hypothesis in the introduction on this subject is thus left for further investigation. These investigations should be guided by the fact that the Spanish refugees arrived in Mexico together with a considerable part of the Spanish Republic's treasury, which financed the Servicio de Evacuación de Refugiados Españoles, the fund to support the absorption in Mexico of the Spanish refugees. That, along with Mexico's political support of the republic from the very beginning of the Spanish Civil War, was the basis for legitimizing the acceptance of Spanish refugees by the Mexican administration and Mexican public opinion. In these circumstances, the 98 Jewish refugees on the SS *Flandres* were no match for the Spanish immigrants on the SS *Sinaia*.

Gleizer's work is a most important contribution to the historiography on Mexico and its Jewish community during the Nazi era. I wish it would become a textbook in Mexican universities and in the large network of the Mexican Jewish educational institutions.

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O Dia em que adiaram o carnaval: Política externa e a construção do Brasil.

By LUÍS CLÁUDIO VILLAFANE G. SANTOS. São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 2010. Notes. Bibliography. 278 pp. Paper, R\$40.00.

This book's title refers to the Brazilian government's effort to suspend the celebration of Rio de Janeiro's Carnaval in 1912 from February until April to mourn the death of the nation's premier diplomat, the Barão do Rio Branco (José Maria da Silva Paranhos Jr.), who died the Saturday before Ash Wednesday. The common citizens of Rio de Janeiro, however, honored Rio Branco in their own fashion by celebrating Carnaval twice that year. Villafane uses this extraordinary event to introduce his examination of Brazilian national identity through the little-considered lens of its international diplomacy and Itamarati's most celebrated historical figure: Rio Branco. For the author, "Num mundo de Estados-nações, a política externa é fator primordial na definição do caráter da nação" (p. 43). This hypothesis is the point of departure for a broad survey of Brazilian foreign relations in tandem with evolving conceptions of Brazilian national identity from late colonial to contemporary times.

Villafane argues that because Brazilian identity came into existence after Brazilians won independence from the Portuguese, Rio Branco's diplomatic work to define the limits of Brazil's national territory made him a founding father after the fact. To support this assertion, he examines a stained glass representation in Washington DC's National Cathedral celebrating the first Pan-American Congress in 1826 that uses three principal images of Latin American patriots: Simón Bolívar, José Francisco de San Martín, and Rio Branco. In this representation, an artist clearly depicts Rio Branco as a symbol of Brazil and associates him anachronistically with the founding fathers of Spanish American nations. Villafane, however, does not reveal the stained glass artist's identity. The Baltimore native Rowan LeCompte designed most of the windows in Washington's National Cathedral, but I was unable to confirm that he had designed that particular window. In any case, it is doubtful that this stained glass representation reveals how Brazilians understood the place of Rio Branco in their pantheon of national heroes rather than how an American artist interpreted this pantheon. This representation of Rio Branco graces the cover of the book, but its centrality to the author's argument seems a bit of a stretch. This, however, is a minor criticism, because the author provides many other examples and interpretations of Rio Branco's prestige within Brazil.

The strength of this manuscript is the author's agile analysis of the evolution of the Brazilian government's foreign policy, which Rio Branco's diplomacy shaped for most of the twentieth century. He argues that Rio Branco came to prominence in the early twentieth century because he fit the historical patriotic moment better than other figures. The transition from a constitutional monarchy to a republic in 1889 promoted the image of Tiradentes, leader of a failed republican conspiracy in the eighteenth century, as a symbol of national unity. Meanwhile, the military tried to promote the heroes of the Paraguayan War, principally the Duke of Caxias, in the early republic as symbols of national unity, but the duke's association with loyalty to the monarchy made him

a less than ideal symbol for the new republic. The *barão's* image as a republican man of peace who settled most of Brazil's border disputes through international law fit the way most influential Brazilian intellectuals and politicians sought to project the image of their nation in the early twentieth century. Brazilians lived peacefully with neighbors and other nations across the world. For Villafañe, Brazilian leaders in the early twentieth century debated how Brazil should present itself and interact with the international community, and for all practical purposes, Rio Branco best captured their conclusions (p. 186). Rio Branco was not associated with the fractious politics of Brazil's past, and his success in international negotiations reinforced the image of a peaceful Brazil. The author points out the contradiction that this image was often at odds with the disorder and violence of Brazil's early republic, which was convulsed by events such as the 1893–1894 Armada Revolt, the 1896–1897 Canudos Rebellion, the 1910 Chibata Revolt, and the 1912–1916 Contestado Revolt, among others.

Villafañe successfully shows how foreign policy involves and invokes narratives and images that helped to define and reshape conceptions of Brazilian national identity and character, but he recognizes that this mostly top-down, state-led project had its limits. To demonstrate this, he returns to the state's ham-handed efforts to reschedule Carnival in 1912. He transcribes the lyrics of a samba march sung during the second celebration of Carnival that lampooned the government: “Com o morte do Barão / Tivemos dois carnavá / Ai que bom, ai que gostoso / Se morresse o marechá” (p. 265). The government's failed attempt to enshrine Rio Branco in the public memory by delaying the mirth of Carnival had the unintended consequence of encouraging a Carnival wag to imagine how good it would be if Brazil's president, Marshal Hermes da Fonseca, would also die so that they could celebrate Carnival yet again. A confluence of popular and elitist projects and representations shaped national identity and memory, a process that often escaped the control of political authorities.

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Brazil's Steel City: Developmentalism, Strategic Power, and Industrial Relations in Volta Redonda, 1941–1964. By OLIVER J. DINIUS. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010. Photographs. Maps. Tables. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xxi, 325 pp. Cloth, \$65.00.

Brazil's Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional (CSN) steel plant, located at Volta Redonda in the state of Rio de Janeiro, formed Brazil's largest industrial enterprise at the middle of the twentieth century. As such, its importance for understanding Brazil's historical development is, like the physical scale of the mill itself, massive. Many of the structural bars and beams used in numerous aspects of Brazilian development—for example, within the forest of skyscrapers that began to appear in São Paulo and parts of Rio de Janeiro—no longer needed to be imported once Volta Redonda began producing steel in 1946. Numerous authors have paid some attention to the plant's roles in Brazilian devel-

opment. However, Oliver Dinius's study, a revision and extension of his 2004 Harvard thesis, provides a most welcome detailed account. His book gives an in-depth treatment of the building of the plant, along with the development of a labor force increasingly sophisticated in its scale, technical character, and politics. In particular, Dinius shows how major ideological pillars in Brazilian state capitalism, namely *desenvolvimentismo* and *trabalhismo*, showed both connections and contradictions through various phases of Brazilian politics, from Getúlio Vargas's Estado Novo to the military coup of 1964. A remarkable feature of this book is its extensive analysis supported by sampling the CSN's personnel files. These detailed records form the backbone of Dinius's research and provide remarkable substance for his arguments. This is emphatically a welcome archive-based approach to labor history.

Much of the 1920s and 1930s saw Brazilian governments involved in negotiations with various international steel companies and concession hunters, drawn to Brazil by the prospect of large-scale iron ore exports. This is a history still worthy of closer attention. But once the idea of building an integrated steel mill in Brazil was decoupled from iron ore exports, progress was rapid under the Estado Novo. All the equipment used to build the mill—this at a time of war—came from the United States. The driving force for construction within Brazil was Edmundo de Macedo Soares e Silva. The book provides excellent background on him, including his extensive education in metallurgy. The building of Volta Redonda was a technical challenge for Brazil, but it was also a human drama involving a pool of some 48,000 migrants, almost all of them from the southeastern region of the country. Dinius includes an excellent series of maps providing data on the origins of the migrants.

In Brazil's Estado Novo, state and society were viewed as an organic whole with a moral purpose. Macedo Soares, in some ways the human colossus of this project, used every opportunity to promote Catholic ideology within his work. There are many telling observations in Dinius's study related to this point. For example, the bishop of Barra do Piraí spent so much time at Volta Redonda that the Vatican eventually made the city co-seat of the diocese in 1955. In the period of building up the mill to operate at full proportions, there was considerable scope for occupational mobility, a wave that came to an end by 1951. In analysis of labor militancy within the plant, it is striking how much exaggeration of any supposed Communist threat was present. The findings of this book reveal very deep penetration of Communist circles. CSN personnel files were used by police at Rio de Janeiro for the political screening of workers.

In analyzing the strategic division of labor and seeking to determine where bargaining power lay at its strongest, this book pays a great deal of careful attention to the production process. This hardly makes for light reading, but it provides a valuable contribution to Brazilian labor history. The book ends with a call for a greater emphasis on the study of labor within strategic industries. It does seem remarkable that, thus far, Petrobras has attracted even less attention than the CSN.

Oliver Dinius has given us a carefully documented study on an important topic. Photographs drawn from the CSN archives enhance the text's material, providing a

sense of the scale of the project. The quality of the maps in the study is uneven. Those depicting migration catchment areas are carefully prepared and highly informative. On the other hand, the inset map emphasizing the importance of existing rail infrastructure in the strategic location of Volta Redonda is not helped by the omission of some locations judged of key importance in the discussion. Slips in this book are remarkably few in my estimation. The author made a wide search for material in the preparation of this study, including recourse within the United States to collections in the Baker Library at Harvard. Scholars based in North America wanting to build forward from this study should also be aware of the extensive Donald Rady papers on the Brazilian steel industry and Volta Redonda kept in the Department of Special Collections of the Charles E. Young Research Library at UCLA.

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Cybernetic Revolutionaries: Technology and Politics in Allende's Chile. By EDEN MEDINA. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011. Illustrations. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiv, 326 pp. Paper, \$32.00.

In this thoroughly researched and theoretically rich work, Eden Medina examines the adoption of cybernetic technology by Salvador Allende's short-lived Chilean revolutionary government. Cybernetics, in the words of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology mathematician Norbert Wiener, is "the study of 'control and communication in the animal and the machine'" (p. 8). In the Chilean case, cybernetics involved a network made up primarily of telex machines that could record economic production data on punch cards, providing a picture of the national industrial economy to Allende's senior staff. This was intended to guide policymaking and, when necessary, state interventions into factory output and resource distribution. Medina analyzes Chile's Project Cybersyn as a sociotechnical system designed to further a revolutionary, perhaps utopian, political project. She argues that the Cybersyn team's political values were built into both the technologies they employed and the organization of these technologies. Medina concludes that "it is very difficult to make technologies that are capable of creating and enforcing desired configurations of power and authority, especially if those configurations are radically different from those that preceded them" (p. 217). Her research relies on publicly available and privately owned archival documents and interviews with several of the "technologists" (her preferred term) involved with Cybersyn.

At the center of this history, along with several key figures in Allende's administration, is the eccentric British cybernetician Stafford Beer. Medina interviewed Beer in 2001, shortly before his death, and she provides an extensive analysis of that conversation in an epilogue. Beer's approach to cybernetics as a flexible and adaptive system for managing complex dynamics (particularly in business) came to the attention of Fernando Flores, a young manager in Allende's State Development Corporation (CORFO).

Flores saw Beer's vision for the new and somewhat marginal science of cybernetics as ideologically aligned with Chile's distinctive road to socialism, since cybernetics could guide social reform without necessitating centralized state control. In theory, Chile's Cybersyn system was designed to allow information and decision making to travel both out from the center and up from the factory floor. In practice, as Medina convincingly illustrates, the centralization of data in an operations room within the presidential palace often disempowered factory workers and managers, who did not have access to the full technological capacity that guided the Allende administration's decisions.

Among the book's most engaging sections is a detailed analysis of the operations room's design and the technologies built into it. Replete with photographs and schematic images, chapter 4 portrays a "vision of socialist modernity" (p. 124) reminiscent of the futuristic world portrayed in Stanley Kubrick's 1968 film *2001: A Space Odyssey*. Medina notes that despite the revolutionary social values theoretically embedded into its design and purpose, the room was a highly gendered space, implicitly masculine in its furnishings and staff hierarchy.

Much of this book addresses and expands on scholarship in the history and sociology of technology, particularly questions about the political commitments implicit in technological design and use. For Latin American historians, the most revealing chapters will be those dealing with the effectiveness of Cybersyn in enabling Allende's administration to withstand turmoil brought on by both the US-led economic blockade of Chile and political fractures within the country. Medina devotes chapter 5 to Cybersyn's role in the government's defeat of a national truckers' strike in October 1972. The production and distribution data provided to Allende's staff during the strike by thousands of daily telex messages helped them to thwart the bourgeois strikers' goal of demobilizing the national economy.

Interestingly, Stafford Beer embraced a more utopian vision of the revolutionary aims of Chilean cybernetics than did many of his more pragmatic Chilean colleagues. During his months in Chile, Beer expressed frustration with the unwillingness of some in Allende's government to maximize the impact of Cybersyn as an instrument for national economic management. Medina surmises that Allende's CORFO managers were more attuned than Beer to the practical limits of social change within Chile. Nevertheless, in memoirs and interviews recorded long after the violent overthrow of Allende's government, many of the former Cybersyn staff felt that they, too, had been naive about the capacity of a technological system to drive a social revolution.

Cybernetic Revolutionaries brings together scholarly fields that still rarely overlap—although the history and sociology of Latin American technology is an expanding area of research. No doubt readers will focus on the chapters that speak most directly to their own interest in either the social history of technology or modern Chilean history. Nevertheless, Medina's work makes a compelling case for the rewards of expanding the history of technology beyond its more common regional foci. Her work also emphasizes the central role played by technical personnel in the modern governance of many

Latin American countries. This book will provoke engaging discussion among graduate students in several scholarly fields and is sure to inspire new investigations into Latin American sociotechnical systems.

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Bicentenarios de libertad: La fragua de la política en España y las Américas.

By JOSÉ ANTONIO PIQUERAS. Prologue by HERBERT S. KLEIN. Barcelona:

Ediciones Península, 2010. Notes. Bibliography. 526 pp. Cloth, €31.00.

In his well-researched book on the wars of independence and the birth of modern politics in the Spanish-speaking world, José Piqueras documents the rise of liberalism and the formation of a national government in Cádiz to resist the French between 1808 and 1812. He presents both rural and urban radicals, as well as deputies elected to the Cádiz Cortes, as protagonists in the revolutionary movements on both sides of the Hispanic Atlantic world. While José María Portillo Valdés, among others, interprets the Napoleonic occupation as a watershed moment in the history of the Iberian Peninsula, Piqueras contends that the alliance with France and the consequences of a calamitous economic downturn in the years 1795–1808 ushered in catastrophe. Thus a burgeoning Hispanic public sphere is presented as the product of socioeconomic and structural transformation brought about by the crises of the previous two decades. The French Revolution provides the critical backdrop to the unfolding drama as Piqueras highlights the mobilization of Spanish sansculottes and the recruitment of peasant soldiers into nationalist wars.

As early as July 1808, the provincial junta of Valencia issued the opening salvo in a contest over legitimate governing authority and nationhood as the king was being held prisoner in France. Leaders called for a supreme council to be formed under the auspices of a single nation and simultaneously warned peninsular Spaniards that the overseas territories must be conserved. Part of a growing literature on revolutions in the Atlantic world, the book deftly juxtaposes events in Spain and Spanish America. For instance, Piqueras describes anti-French sentiment in Cuba and the violence against the French in Valencia as products of popular patriotism and xenophobia. He also notes the fractures that threatened to divide American and peninsular Spaniards, as unequal political representation and appeals for federalism sparked intense debates between provincial juntas and the Central Junta. By consistently including American perspectives, Piqueras effectively portrays the issues facing the Spanish monarchy in transatlantic, rather than strictly peninsular, terms.

Piqueras focuses on patterns and continuity over the *longue durée*. An Old Regime repertoire of protest grounded in ideas of a moral economy persisted across the monarchy, he writes, and the uprisings of the 1760s and 1780s in Spain and Spanish America set the stage for revolution 30 years later. Peninsular Spaniards continued to perceive Americans through a colonial lens, in spite of the decree passed on January 22, 1809,

that abolished the distinction between colony and metropole and declared all Spanish territories essential parts of the monarchy. Financial considerations are marshaled by the author as evidence of the dissimulating strategies of peninsular Spaniards who called for unity in the face of a costly war with France. Piqueras denies the influence of autonomist movements, as Americans appear headed on an ineluctable path toward independence by September 1808. Economic dependence, coupled with the ouster of Viceroy José de Iturrigaray, pushed *novohispanos* to embrace separation. Piqueras also insists that a paradoxical blend of liberalism and religious faith imbued politics. As the liberal Constitution of 1812 was implemented, constitutional architects had carved out space for priests and the church that contributed to the “clericalization” of civil society (p. 425).

With a focus on economic instability and antifeudal conflict, however, many of the claims in the book rest upon an implicit paradigm of bourgeois revolution. This notion has been challenged by a generation of scholars, from Richard Herr to Jesus Cruz and David Ringrose, although such historiographical debates are not considered by Piqueras. Furthermore, in discussing the pressing economic issues that led to the selling off of church land in 1798, Piqueras writes that merchants and small business owners, the nucleus of a rising bourgeoisie, comprised the majority of buyers of disentailed properties. Yet according to Herr’s meticulous analysis in *Rural Change and Royal Finances in Spain at the End of the Old Regime* (1989), agents of the state and the church benefited most from this policy. Members of the clergy and administrative officials purchased large tracts of land. Local notables as well as wealthy peasants involved in the market economy also bought properties. That Piqueras relies on an overly deterministic class-oriented framework at times distracts from his quantitative and qualitative evidence. Other problematic aspects of the text include an ad hominem attack leveled against François-Xavier Guerra in chapter 3. Furthermore, Piqueras misrepresents Guerra’s nuanced arguments on the global characteristics of revolution in the Atlantic world.

At his best, Piqueras displays erudition and depth in his scholarship. He concludes the work by noting that while liberals did not provide a panacea for the inequalities embedded within Old Regime structures, they opened the door to social advancement and greater individual freedoms. Thus a brief overview of the rapid ascent of Benito Juárez, a poor Zapotec orphan from Oaxaca who became the leading voice of reform in nineteenth-century Mexico, serves as a vivid reminder of the promise of early Hispanic liberalism.

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El peronismo en la provincia de Buenos Aires, 1946–1955. By OSCAR H. AELO. Estudios de Historia del Peronismo. Caseros, Argentina: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, 2012. Tables. Notes. Appendixes. Bibliography. 244 pp. Paper.

Argentine historian Félix Luna once asserted that “nadie podrá escribir la historia del Partido Peronista . . . porque no existió” (p. 51). With decision-making power concentrated in Juan Domingo Perón at the apex of the state, the Peronist Party was, in Luna’s estimation, merely a facade. This conventional wisdom has long endured, but it has been challenged recently by a wave of research on the Partido Peronista—its institutions, second-line leaders, internal procedures, and frictions. Oscar Aelo’s *El peronismo en la provincia de Buenos Aires, 1946–1955* makes a significant contribution to this literature by tracing the party’s rise and consolidation in Argentina’s largest province. It builds on recent studies by scholars such as Moira MacKinnon, César Tcach, and Darío Macor on the party’s origins and its advance in different provincial contexts. Aelo’s work captures the historical contingencies of a political party in formation, one comprised of officials with divergent interests and agendas all jockeying for position and without a predetermined plan for how to rule.

The book is structured into two main sections. The first explores attempts to create a formal party in the years immediately following Perón’s 1946 election. It reaches the conclusion that early provincial Peronism had more strongly “democratic” and “representative” features than previously thought. The author then identifies a series of assumptions or myths about the Peronist Party and assesses them critically. For instance, he considers the idea that members of the province’s Partido Conservador were able to retain local fiefdoms by infiltrating the ranks of the Peronist Party. Aelo’s research shows instead that there was substantial turnover in party membership and competition for office. The Peronist Party introduced social actors with little or no experience into positions of political representation; they included some labor union members and, later, women, but the overwhelming majority came from male, middle-class backgrounds. Democratic impulses were evident in how the provincial governor worked with the legislative branch to design policy and in the administration’s relatively cordial interactions with the anti-Peronist opposition. Aelo takes care not to overstate his case, and he acknowledges that the political climate in Buenos Aires province was somewhat exceptional and that it evaporated over time. But he argues that it no longer makes sense to think of the Peronist Party as a “maquinaria burocrática”; rather, it was “una verdadera organización política, masiva y autogobernada” (p. 82).

The book’s second section examines Peronism’s nationwide shift to a more rigid, centralized structure from 1950 onward. The provincial party eventually resembled the machine described by critics: top executives monopolized authority, party cadres were selected based on disciplined loyalty above all, and excessive displays of partisanship became commonplace (the provincial capital of La Plata was even renamed Eva Perón). Only one chapter is devoted exclusively to the “peronismo vertical,” which suggests that the book’s interest lies primarily in illuminating provincial Peronism’s more democratic phase. (A skeptic like Luna would no doubt balance the study differently.)

Aelo analyzes the party's transformations by focusing on the rise and fall of Domingo Mercante, the governor of Buenos Aires province from 1946 to 1952. The basic story is well known: Mercante was one of Perón's earliest allies and rose to the highest ranks, only to experience a sudden reversal of fortune resulting in loss of the governorship and expulsion from the party amid accusations of disloyalty. Despite sympathy for Mercante, the author moves beyond earlier biographical treatments that portray him as a victim. Instead, his study offers an insightful interpretation of *mercantismo* as a factional movement within Peronism, revealing its bases of support, goals, and weaknesses. The book suggests that Mercante may have been undone by his ambitions to expand his power base beyond Buenos Aires province, which met with retaliation from national authorities and created openings for non-*mercantista* factions within the province to seize command.

The author does an admirable job of teasing out these internal dynamics, but certain issues remain opaque. The detailed focus on party institutions comes at a cost, as other key Peronist actors—including the movement's working-class base, female grassroots activists, and others—remain largely outside the study's scope. Yet even the motivations behind the actions of party operatives and elites like Mercante are at times unclear. To be sure, understanding with any confidence why officials behaved as they did is always a challenge in this type of political history, and in Argentina the problem is compounded by the dearth of sources: the private papers, memoirs, and documents used in other fields simply do not exist. Within these boundaries, this book does what it does skillfully. It provides a rich sense of the various tendencies within the Peronist Party, how they changed over time, and why these transformations matter. Certainly, no one will be able to claim that the party lacks a history.

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The Making of a Market: Credit, Henequen, and Notaries in Yucatán, 1850–1900.

By JULIETTE LEVY. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012.

Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 164 pp. Cloth, \$64.95.

Los hacendados de Yucatán, 1785–1847. By LAURA MACHUCA. Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social / Instituto Cultura de Yucatán, 2011. Illustrations. Maps. Figures. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. 277 pp. Paper.

Laura Machuca's and Juliette Levy's first monographs explore Yucatecan hacendados before henequen and the making of the mortgage market that financed the peninsula's famed fiber boom, respectively.

Machuca productively combines economic analysis of haciendas (their size, capitalization, labor relations, and inheritance patterns) with a prosopography of hacendados. Expanding on existing scholarly literature, she documents how some hacendado clans prospered through officeholding, credit from the church, debt servitude, and commer-

cial income. Yucatecan landowners were not latifundists, as five out of six of their estates were quite modest. Through original, painstaking research, Machuca documents how some colonial landowning dynasties thrived after independence by adapting to the new republican politics and by arranging strategic marriages with the new political and commercial elites. The ill-fated Escuderos, in spite of pioneering commercial henequen cultivation, fell victim to infighting, endogamy, and ideological rigidity (one scion sat in the ill-fated Emperor Maximilian I's cabinet).

Challenging the conventional understanding of hacendados, Machuca foregrounds women, clergy, and Maya landowners. For women (one of every six hacendados), estates meant prestige, a degree of autonomy, protection from impoverishment, and—if widowed—better prospects for remarriage. Although most priests were poor, more than a few used their status, ties to the elite, and parishioners' free labor to become hacendados. Apparently clergy, unlike women, treated servants better than most landowners. Among Maya (or Maya-surnamed) landowners Machuca finds two priests and a married couple of day laborers who bought a small hacienda through years of "industry, economy, and labor" (p. 181). Most indigenous landowners, however, were *indios ricos* and caciques, confirming Robert Patch's thesis that Bourbon and early republican Yucatán witnessed the emergence of a rural middle class containing many Hispanized Maya smallholders.

Juliette Levy's pathbreaking study of Yucatán's mortgage credit market helps us understand how the rise of this rural middle class was blocked by a new class of henequen hacendados drawn largely from Mérida's merchants and professionals during the Porfiriato. La Reforma's abolition of usury, the Second Empire's professionalization of notaries, and the Porfirian prohibition of mortgage lending by banks allowed notaries to emerge as trustworthy, efficient market makers for mortgages. By matching mortgage lenders and borrowers, notaries provided the Porfirian bourgeoisie relatively safe and profitable investments and, more importantly, supplied henequen hacendados with much-needed, affordable, and reliable credit.

Like Machuca, Levy deepens our understanding of women's economic roles. In most years most mortgage borrowers were in fact married women, and they paid on average 2 percent more in interest than men. Levy's resourceful, rigorous methodology allows her to explain this inequality by exploring the unintended consequences of liberal reform of marriage. They prevented a husband from simply taking his wife's property but permitted a less than creditworthy husband to put up her assets as collateral for a loan he then controlled. In response, lenders offset this risk by penalizing all female mortgagers.

A rich case study of José Anacleto Patrón Zavalegui helps Levy to explain the economic dominance of a few male politically connected insiders that characterized the mature Porfiriato. Patrón rose from obscurity to become Yucatán's preeminent notary by steadily accumulating loyal clients, burnishing his reputation, and accruing informal knowledge. His big break, however, came in 1885, when he was awarded a congressional seat and was picked to broker massive mortgages to fund a future governor's railroad. His outsized success required not just professional excellence but also an invitation to join elite, all-male circles.

Ultimately, Levy sees the robust mortgage market that notaries crafted as a sterling example of the liberal state's success. This in turn supports an assessment of Mexican liberalism as "expand[ing] property rights and protection for its citizens" (p. 14) and achieving a capitalist transformation during the Porfiriato (pp. 26–28). Porfirian Mexico's economic growth was certainly remarkable. Had Levy extended her study to 1907, the year of Patrón's death, however, it would have concluded with the cataclysmic crash of Yucatecan credit markets due to a railroad stock bubble abetted by political corruption and fraud. Liberal capitalism's legacy in Yucatán includes the spread of debt peonage that ensnared 100,000 workers, mostly Maya, in servitude on henequen haciendas. To her credit, Levy demonstrates that the henequen boom worsened ethnic inequality in Yucatán, but leading *yucatólogos* such as Piedad Peniche, Allen Wells, and Gil Joseph are not exactly divided on debt peonage's nature, seeing it as brutal, inherited, and rarely escaped, at least after 1880.

Levy's assessment of Latin American liberalism is closer to the mark when she shows how Mexico's liberal Reform Laws in effect "modernized" patriarchy—to borrow Susan Besse's phrase—by rationalizing gender inequality through a notion of progress. Levy's work, like Machuca's, should encourage both economic historians to take women into account and scholars of women and gender to further explore women's economic roles. Just as importantly, these two scholars remind us that gender inequality is an inseparable part of liberal state-making and capitalism in Latin America.

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Eva Perón: Una biografía política. By LORIS ZANATTA. Translated by CARLOS CATROPPI. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2011. Notes. Bibliography. 458 pp. Paper.

When writing a new biography about a well-studied individual, one must always explain why a new study of the subject is necessary. This is a question that Loris Zanatta tackles immediately in the introduction to her new political biography of Eva Perón. She lays out two reasons justifying her new work: first, that there are still many stories to be told about Perón beyond what is already well known; and second, that Perón is useful as a starting point for exploring her particular era in all its facets, a fact that Zanatta identifies as the reason why so many have focused on Evita's story. However, Zanatta's main rationale for writing the biography, and the most important and innovative argument that she makes within it, is to question Evita's legacy. Traditionally, scholars have argued that Evita's untimely death in 1952 deprived the regime of one of its fundamental supports, thus weakening it in a way that facilitated Juan Perón's overthrow in 1955. Zanatta explicitly contradicts this interpretation, arguing that "in no way is it a matter of the regime losing strength because it could no longer count on her presence; rather, Perón fell because he had ended up being a prisoner to the political legacy that she had left" (p. 9). Evita herself brought about the fall of the regime by seizing control of the

very meaning of Peronism. Her death thus brought on a battle within the movement to become the most faithful interpreter of Peronism, using Evita herself as the benchmark for that interpretation. This internal struggle made a rapprochement with Evita's rivals for power, such as the military and the Catholic Church, impossible, thus provoking the regime's final crisis in 1955. In making this argument, Zanatta also clearly takes a stand on the old question of whether it was Juan, Evita, or the two together who truly ruled the nation. Evita clearly held a stranglehold on power that lingered on well after her death.

In outlining the theme of her work, Zanatta disclaims any intent to explore the more personal side of Evita's life, preferring to focus exclusively on her political career and activities. Nevertheless, the opening chapters of the book highlight how, for Evita, the personal was political. Evita's political education and career, as Zanatta sees it, began with her rise through the ranks of the entertainment industry, wherein she learned the value of personal loyalty. This approach to politics followed her into the Casa Rosada, where she continued to promote the careers of those who were loyal to her with almost no consideration of any other qualifications. This idea of loyalty also formed the basis for her political philosophy, which came to define Peronism, of zero tolerance for anyone who failed to conform to her ultranationalist, prolabor ideology. Even Juan Perón, who favored a more pragmatic approach, found himself hemmed in by this rhetoric because he could not afford to lose the popular support that Evita commanded, even after her death. Evita thus won control of Peronism because it was she who defined just what Peronism was and would be.

After this initial analysis and a review of some of Evita's most important work, particularly that of her foundation, Zanatta focuses the bulk of her study on Evita's rivals within the government and the nation—in particular, within the military, the church, and the foreign affairs ministry. It is here that Zanatta's source material becomes particularly noticeable, as she relies heavily on the reports produced by various embassies. These sources, while certainly valuable and intriguing in their own right, tend to color the impression one gets of Evita, who was often depicted in these materials as a master manipulator and a nefarious influence on government policy. This attitude, Zanatta indicates, was almost universally shared among the institutions listed above, and the accounts of the rivalry between these institutions and Evita so pervade the book that it becomes difficult at times to understand how Evita could be as powerful and as popular as she was. Relatively little space, for example, is given to the nature of Evita's relationship with the Confederación General del Trabajo, the national labor organization, or to the content produced by the media outlets Evita controlled, despite Zanatta's assertion that these institutions were fundamental to her political rise and monopoly. Even less space is given to the Peronist Women's Party, which helped to cement Evita's influence over the movement. Zanatta's analysis, while provocative and of undoubted interest to any student of Peronism, is not always wholly supported by the evidence presented.

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Malcontents, Rebels, and Pronunciados: The Politics of Insurrection in Nineteenth-Century Mexico. Edited by WILL FOWLER. The Mexican Experience. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. lii, 299 pp. Paper, \$40.00.

In 1989, Josefina Vázquez asked for studies on the nineteenth century because it constituted forgotten years in Mexican history. Even though there remains much to be done, some historians have taken up this call. Will Fowler figures prominently among them. He wrote several fine studies and edited more books on Mexican politics after independence. *Malcontents, Rebels, and Pronunciados* is his second edited volume on *pronunciamientos*, a phenomenon characteristic of Mexico's nineteenth-century political history. These promulgations of political plans, supported by the threat of violence if grievances were not addressed by the authorities, frequently led to a change in politics or government. To be successful, the *pronunciados* needed to attract sufficient support. While the first volume edited by Fowler focused on the choreography of *pronunciamientos*, the present one deals with the question of why people pronounced against authorities or the established order. This is undoubtedly an important question but also a very difficult one to answer, if personal reasons are involved.

Twelve authors seek to answer this question from different perspectives. Some trace political rebellions in specific regions, while others focus on special social groups, such as the clergy, or institutions, such as the military or town councils, and their reactions when confronted with *pronunciamientos*. Half of the contributions delve into the motives leaders and participants had for initiating a *pronunciamiento*. An introduction by Fowler and a chronology of main events and *pronunciamientos* from 1821 to 1876 complete the volume.

Terry Rugeley looks for a typology of *pronunciamientos* in Yucatán. The reasons for upheavals came from within, without, above, or below. Rugeley contends not only that the most successful *pronunciamientos* came from within and received support from different social groups but also that these were the movements with the most lasting impact. Juan Ortiz Escamilla shows why Veracruz and its military were important for the political history of the first two decades after independence. Tlaxcalan *pronunciamientos* are treated by Raymond Buve, who emphasizes the importance of conflict among city councils about the province's political status. Thus in Tlaxcala adherence to federalism or centralism always had a regional component. Guy Thomson focuses on neighboring state Puebla. By exploring politics at the mid-nineteenth century, he argues that Puebla was at the center of many politico-military conflicts not because of its conservatism but because of its location.

Chapters by Catherine Andrews, Linda Arnold, Sergio A. Cañedo Gamboa, and Josefina Zoraida Vázquez intend to explain personal motivations to pronounce, and they approach their topic by meticulously studying personal careers and political events. While most of these authors state that the search for personal power strongly drove their protagonists, Arnold stresses that José Ramón García Ugarte, responsible for a failed *pronunciamiento* in San Luis Potosí in 1837, was moved by his patriotism. Anne Staples

does not concentrate on leaders of specific pronunciamientos but rather asks why priests agreed to support such movements, showing that violence, or the threat thereof, was an important element of this support. Eduardo Flores Clair also focuses on what motivated rebels in Julio López Chávez's 1868 uprising, but he concentrates on the different groups of participants and their ideological background. While the latter was expressed in a manifesto with similarities to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels's *The Communist Manifesto*, many participants apparently joined the movement due to hopes for land redistribution and family ties.

Two essays are concerned with the functioning of pronunciamientos and how they fit into political culture. Fowler's essay intends to explain why Antonio López de Santa Anna participated in so many different pronunciamientos. Whereas older studies frequently saw this behavior as a sign that personal interests weighed more for him than anything else, Fowler instead argues convincingly that Santa Anna was apt in building coalitions, disguising his aims in order both to find support and to also support other proposals in case they were more popular. This essay is about not only Santa Anna but also the dynamics of cycles of pronunciamientos in general. Erika Pani explores the meaning of the pronunciamientos from the perspective of the Second Empire, a historical moment when this form of doing politics lost its attraction. While the pronunciamiento constituted an important part of the political culture after independence and was one of "the elements that made up 'public opinion'" (p. 245), the 1857 Constitution became a watershed because, on the one hand, it caused a sharp polarization in Mexican politics between conservatives and liberals. On the other hand, Pani states that the decline of pronunciamientos in the Second Empire also insinuated a change to a conception of political legitimacy based more on law than on spontaneous expressions of opposition and grievances.

The volume is a highly welcome contribution to the historiography of nineteenth-century Mexico. It sheds light on an important characteristic of political culture in this period. Hopefully, there will be more volumes looking into the backgrounds and dynamics of pronunciamientos and exploring the relationship of pronunciamientos to other important ways of doing politics in Mexico during the turbulent decades after independence.

SILKE HENSEL, University of Münster, Germany

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2210993

Culture of Class: Radio and Cinema in the Making of a Divided Argentina, 1920–1946.

By MATTHEW B. KARUSH. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. Photographs. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xi, 275 pp. Paper, \$23.95.

This innovative book builds on and goes beyond recent scholarship on the rise of mass culture in Latin America. Matthew Karush offers a thorough yet nimble investigation of both the cinematic, popular musical, and theatrical products of Argentina's emerging culture industry and the heated critical debates about the nature and effects of these products. He follows interweaving cultural and political trajectories from the birth of Argentine radio to the sudden rise of Juan and Eva Perón to political power. This chronological framework is crucial, as Karush argues that the Argentine mass culture of the 1930s and early 1940s did not posit a unified nation but instead conveyed messages of sharp class division, pitting hard-working, honest members of the poor and working class against a corrupt and decadent domestic aristocracy. Argentine mass culture was not a field of harmonious dreams but rather a battleground where competing factions sought to impose their will. By the early 1940s, the defiant populists had won, prefiguring and providing the cultural points of reference for their ensuing political rise.

A comparison of Hollywood screwball comedies of the 1930s with Argentine comedies of the same period makes this argument forcefully. Both genres were enthusiastically populist, exalting the scrappy resourcefulness of working-class men and the steadfast virtues of working-class women. But Hollywood comedies like *It Happened One Night* (1934) hinged on sympathetic portrayals of the foibles and flaws of both working-class men and rich girls, and they ended with harmonious union that dissolved class barriers: rich and poor were both improved by compromise and resolution. In Argentine films like *La rubia del camino* (1938), in contrast, the working-class men had no flaws and the rich girls no virtue—at least until they “choos[e] barbecued meat over precious jewels” (p. 172). As Karush notes, these plots inverted *Pygmalion*, implying that “the rich woman can only discover her true self when she sheds the cultural baggage of wealth under the tutelage of a poor man” (p. 173). The aspiring radio actress Eva Duarte did not need to change much to turn this message into one of political mobilization a few years later, following her marriage to Juan Perón.

The triumph of this sharp-elbowed populism was neither inevitable nor complete. Instead, the cultural battleground of the 1930s was marked by shifting alliances and anxious interrogations. Messages of working-class solidarity were combined with “consumerist titillation, conformism, the celebration of individual upward mobility, misogyny, and other conservative messages” (p. 16). Karush argues that the political populism of the 1940s internalized these contradictions and that the successful incorporation of the conflicting messages of mass culture explains the wildfire spread of Peronism.

Rejections and denunciations of mass culture became part of mass culture. They were not so much steamrolled as reconfigured into nostalgic or nationalist trends within cultural production. Like every urbanizing country of the period, Argentina nurtured popular music whose lyrics celebrating the rustic countryside never completely obscured

rhythms honed in the dockside bars of the capital or orchestration borrowed from Hollywood soundtracks. Such combinations generated both fodder for debate and ways of talking about imagined communal identity within the midst of rapid modernization.

This book is steeped in deep familiarity with and affection for Argentine popular and erudite culture. Karush draws authoritatively on an extensive filmography and discography as well as extensive reading of the popular press, high-toned critical reviews, and specialized trade publications within the culture industry. The argument is theoretically aware but firmly grounded in analysis of the works in question: the Argentine films, music, and radio theater of the 1920s through the 1940s. Karush never loses sight of films and recordings as both artistic statements and artifacts in a broader cultural landscape, and he offers illuminating interpretation of both major works and lesser-known but nonetheless revealing productions. This depth and balance make this a rich and rewarding work.

This book will be essential reading for specialists on modern Argentina. Karush assumes a basic familiarity with Argentina's political development and grounds his work with careful responses to the extensive historiography of the Argentine working class, but he writes accessibly, following a clear, explicit framework. As a result, this book will be useful in graduate seminars but also appropriate for use in upper-level undergraduate seminars. It makes a welcome and important contribution to the developing field of the popular cultural history of modern Latin America.

BRYAN MCCANN, Georgetown University

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Forced Marches: Soldiers and Military Caciques in Modern Mexico. Edited by BEN FALLAW and TERRY RUGELEY. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012. Photographs. Illustrations. Figures. Notes. Index. 277 pp. Cloth, \$55.00.

This new volume of essays arrives at a propitious time, as Mexico grapples anew with the problem of broad military influence in public life that was seemingly laid low at mid-century. While the new administration in Mexico City must again deal with the competing demands of robust public security and effective civilian control of the armed forces, the essays presented in this volume edited by Ben Fallaw and Terry Rugeley look back to an earlier time when the military was perhaps the cardinal factor in Mexican political life. Fallaw and Rugeley have brought together a range of scholars to address a series of pressing questions about the essential nature of militias and the military in Mexico. Chief among these questions are two of the most basic but complicated ones: How did the armed forces, regular or irregular, affect daily life? And how did they affect long-term developments in the social, economic, political, and cultural spheres? The editors and contributors quite consciously utilize the methods of the new military history in answering these questions, concerning themselves not so much with top-tier leaders as with "the men who followed them, or . . . the women they left behind, or . . . the nature

of life in the barracks" (p. 1). In this, they are engaged in a task of primary recognition, demonstrating that an institution with a pedigree as long as that of the Catholic Church in Mexico obviously had much to say about the relative quality of governance in the country.

A central mode of analysis here is the close examination of "brass *cacicazgos*," aptly defined as "patrimonial statelets" (p. 15). These political arrangements relied on several factors, including the personal prestige of the leader (personalism), that leader's military rank and competence, and his political savvy in negotiating with the political center. These zones of influence are critical to most explanations about regional politics in the modern period, but many local authorities have received precious little study. One correction to this is Ben Fallaw's precise and intriguing examination of the postrevolutionary career of Eulogio Ortiz, a second-tier general who nonetheless set the stage for Joaquín Amaro's reform of the military and Plutarco Elías Calles's dominance of the state (p. 136). Ortiz's tasks were simple: enforce revolutionary ideology, weed out the opposition, and destroy the bases of Cristero support in the 1920s. Fallaw very convincingly demonstrates that men like Ortiz effectively used their military standing to deeply influence the daily life of anyone in their orbit, as classic (and important) an argument of the new military history as there is. Ben Smith and Paul Gillingham demonstrate the methods that regional caciques Heliodoro Charis Castro and Alejandro Mange Toyos contrived to acquire, enhance, defend, and, when necessary, use power. They relied on not only very old traditions of regionalism but also newer strategies that appropriated both revolutionary and bureaucratic discourses to legitimate their sometimes tenuous positions. Stephen Neufeld, in a very different approach, recovers the lived experience of the presidential guards surrounding Porfirio Díaz and explains how these volunteers became "a model for how Mexico was to enter modernity" (p. 82).

The volume is greatly enriched by David Nugent's very thorough concluding essay, which appraises the volume's theoretical contributions. Nugent sees how fundamentally "violence was embedded *in* the social order, even as force was used variously to defend, undermine, or transform the status quo" (p. 241). He also directly discusses what each essay analyzes to a greater or lesser extent: the legitimation of power. This wide-ranging analysis, especially coming on the heels of such varied and provocative essays, is perhaps the most powerful segment of the collection. Among other conclusions, Nugent argues that there was an essential utility of the brass *cacicazgos* for the postrevolutionary leadership in Mexico, which watched as "the organs of the central administration were systematically cannibalized by regionally based elites and locally oriented interests" (p. 249). Symbiosis as governance seems an appropriate way to understand the complex links between a centralized state lacking local dominance and the myriad regional caciques lacking legitimacy.

The fascinating contributions within this volume and the space limitation of this review do not neatly mesh: there is much more to this book than can be remarked upon here. For scholars interested in state formation broadly conceived, both within Mexican-

ist circles and without, it will be of great use in thinking about what the state does, and does not, do.

AARON W. NAVARRO, Trinity University

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Taxation and Society in Twentieth-Century Argentina. By JOSÉ ANTONIO SÁNCHEZ ROMÁN. Studies of the Americas. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Figures. Tables. Notes. Index. xiv, 245 pp. Cloth, \$90.00.

We have many books on death in Latin American history, but surprisingly few on taxes. With proverbial inevitability, this appears to be changing. Putting aside technical studies of the tax reforms that swept the region after 1980, a handful of recent books have attempted to trace the longer-term history of taxation in specific countries, especially Mexico and Argentina, often as an adjunct to the analysis of fiscal policy and the problem of debt that has plagued Latin American states since independence. Given the weight of economic history in the field, one might expect taxes to have received more examination, but as José Antonio Sánchez Román frequently points out in this pioneering study, the subject never quite moved to the center of public debate or political agendas in twentieth-century Argentina. Always lurking below the surface of conflicts over government finances, economic development, and wealth redistribution, tax policies were more likely to trigger reaction than action on the part of Argentines, who largely agreed that a progressive income tax was the system best suited to advancing the modernization of their country, even as they fought tooth and nail to defend the interests of their particular economic sector. Sánchez Román thus undertakes the challenging task of simultaneously demonstrating the significance and insignificance of taxes in modern Argentine history.

Though this study might best be classed as a political economy of tax policy, focusing on the causes and consequences of major tax reforms in 1924–25 (failed), 1932, 1942–43, and 1974, as well as the myriad piecemeal alterations of the tax code between 1946 and 1973, the author is ultimately interested in explaining how, despite its comparatively low rates of taxation, Argentina gradually developed into an “adversarial tax state” (p. 5), with high levels of evasion common since the middle of the twentieth century. Running alongside this central paradox is a second (though hardly subsidiary) one: Argentina had its most progressive tax system under the conservative military and pseudodemocratic regimes of the 1930s and early 1940s, not under the much more democratic governments led by the Radicals from 1916 to 1930 or by the populist Juan Perón from 1946 to 1955. In fact, the Radicals were unable to enact income tax legislation in the mid-1920s thanks to the opposition of provincial elites in the Argentine Senate, and the Peronists of the late 1940s held a “surprisingly ambiguous” attitude toward progressive taxation (p. 86), even introducing a number of regressive tax measures while pursuing the redistribution of wealth by other means. Adding further intrigue to this seeming

reversal of roles between left and right, democracy and authoritarianism, the book shows that Socialists were among the most vocal early critics of the income tax, whereas industrialists saw it as an ally against the traditional use of low import tariffs as the major source of government revenue.

To his credit, Sánchez Román seeks to resolve these paradoxes with a cultural-institutional argument based not on essential Argentine attributes but on the careful historical reconstruction of the interplay between state and civil society in a particular national context, where relative consensus and compliance toward specific policies gave way to recrimination and resistance toward others. At the core of his explanation, if not his evidence, is the issue of political legitimacy. He rightly shows that the payment of taxes rests in part on the consent of the taxpayers themselves, even when the state's powers of collection are quite strong—as they were in Argentina, which had an effective national tax bureaucracy and a system of payroll deductions as early as the mid-1930s. (The United States, by comparison, only established such a system in 1943.) Since most Argentines already viewed the income tax as desirable before the 1930 coup, Sánchez Román interprets its subsequent implementation by the military government as a bid to lend legitimacy to a regime whose origins were antidemocratic. Though successful in the short term, the connection between authoritarianism and the income tax “was a sort of original stain for Argentina’s progressive taxation” (p. 11). Workers never saw it as a project connected with their interests; they paid little into the system and did not develop an identity as taxpayers. The income tax began to falter and evasion began to accelerate when middle- and upper-class Argentines withdrew their consent during the 1940s and 1950s, as they came to question the legitimacy of the state either for anti-Peronist ideological reasons or simply because the state no longer appeared to manage competing sectoral interests in an equitable manner free from special exemptions, privileges, and generalized corruption.

Its argument aside, this book presents much more evidence for the short-term pragmatism behind specific tax policies and sectoral responses than for the broader attitudes Argentines held about state legitimacy. It is also full of useful statistical information, painstakingly culled from public records. Like any expedition into uncharted territory, it will provide an indispensable map and reference for future studies of this new Argentine enigma.

BRIAN BOCKELMAN, Ripon College

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Más allá del Medio Oriente: Las diásporas judía y árabe en América Latina.

Edited by RAANAN REIN, MARÍA JOSÉ CANO PÉREZ, and BEATRIZ MOLINA RUEDA. Eirene. Granada, Spain: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2012. Illustrations. Tables. Notes. Bibliographies. 315 pp. Paper, €15.00.

In the introduction to this collection of 13 essays, editor Raanan Rein notes the recent visits by Middle Eastern leaders to Latin American countries to meet with local authorities and members of the region's diasporas. This increased activity, Rein posits, suggests that Middle Eastern realities have shaped relationships among Arab and Jewish diasporic communities, their national Latin American governments, and their homelands. The Middle East, then, is present in Latin America through its politics and its peoples, and most of the essays in this collection focus on the intersections of these two.

Raanan Rein has written extensively on Latin American Jewry. In fact, it is clear that most of the authors in this collection have answered his (and Jeffrey Lesser's) calls for a reevaluation of the experience of Jewish Latin Americans, one that places important weight on the conversations between their national (Argentine, Brazilian, etc.) and transnational (Jewish) identities and does not privilege one over the other. This volume showcases research that explores this paradigm within Arab diasporic communities. Studying Palestinian Chilean author Mahfud Massís's poetry, for example, Heba El Attar claims that "although [Massís] was born and raised in Chile, [he] urged resistance in favor of the Palestine cause. . . first while in Chile, then in Caracas" (p. 100). But this defense of Palestinian territories, El Attar convincingly shows, was closely linked to Massís's position against "Latin American dictatorships and imperialist forces" (p. 101). In the same vein, the piece by Susana Brauner and Silvina Schammah on the participation of Syrian Jewish youth in Argentine political movements prior to the military dictatorship underscores how these young men and women saw political participation as compatible with their ethnic affiliation. In other words, these actors' decisions to participate in national (in the case of Argentine Syrian Jews) or diasporic (in the case of Mahfud Massís) political causes were not an indication that they were dismissing their other identities; in fact, diasporic and national contexts informed each other.

Other essays suggest that while diasporic and national realities were always in conversation, one or the other played a more central role in the construction of identities. Carlos Martínez Assad's chapter, for example, analyzes how a Lebanese Arab identity was constructed in Mexico, highlighting the ways in which the Arab world and culture (through the Arab press) influenced this process and how the creation of the state of Israel impacted these immigrants' views of both (Mexican) Jews and their own Lebanese national identity. By contrast, David Sheinin's study of Jewish Argentine identity during and after the Proceso de Reorganización Nacional describes how Jewish individuals and institutions, as well as the military, crafted a new narrative about being Jewish in Argentina, one that defined a Jewish-Argentine as "victimized and without human rights" (p. 188).

Other contributions focus not necessarily on the Arab and Jewish diasporas in the

region but on the ways in which Middle Eastern politics shaped Latin American national politics and local governments' relationships with these diasporic groups. Of these (Juan José Vagni and Mario Sznajder also address the topic), Jerry Dávila and Jeffrey Lesser's discussion of the Brazilian vote in the United Nations in 1975 supporting the statement that Zionism was racism is worth a few comments. Rather than assume that the anti-Semitism of Brazilian military leaders lay behind their decision to support the UN resolution, Lesser and Dávila contend that their support was due to the Brazilian leadership's "increasing rejection of Portuguese colonialism, the need for oil to feed the industrial growth of the country, and the desire of many of the Brazilian politicians to rid themselves of a servile relationship with the United States" (p. 228).

The diverse foci of the essays—on individual diasporic groups, on Arabs and Jews, on politics, sports, culture, etc.—offer a look at the messy interplay between the nation and diasporas but leave out questions (and answers) about broader trends. For example, are Jews more likely than Arabs to be influenced by their homeland or host land? When does national politics exert a stronger influence: in times of revolution or repression? Are diaspora politics more decisive at times of war or open conflict? In other words, how do we use the rich analysis presented by these articles to understand more about each diaspora, the dynamics of diaspora in Latin America, and the interplay between Jews and Arabs in the region?

These questions aside, the collection contributes much to our understanding of the complex and varied ways in which Arabs and Jews in Latin America interacted with each other, with their homelands, and with their respective national contexts.

ADRIANA BRODSKY, St. Mary's College of Maryland

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A Land between Waters: Environmental Histories of Modern Mexico.

Edited by CHRISTOPHER R. BOYER. Latin American Landscapes. Tucson:

University of Arizona Press, 2012. Photographs. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Index.

viii, 307 pp. Cloth, \$55.00.

Mexicans have long enjoyed a huge advantage over their North American neighbors. A tradition of translating and inexpensively publishing canonical non-Spanish works in history has given monolingual Mexican readers access to foreign authors alongside homegrown ones. This advantage is pronounced in environmental history. Books by John R. McNeill, Donald Worster, Elinor Melville, and others have come out in Spanish, while those by Antonio Elio Brailovsky and Guillermo Castro Herrera, along with some of the authors included in the collection under review here, are unavailable in English. By assembling historians from both sides of the Mexico–United States border in *A Land between Waters: Environmental Histories of Modern Mexico*, Christopher R. Boyer has begun to redress this imbalance and to breach the linguistic and historiographical divide it created.

In an introductory chapter, Boyer describes six cycles of political ecology marking Mexican history from the late colonial period to 2011, each characterized by a peculiar relationship between political regimes and modes of social uses of nature. The chapters explore the correspondence between intensive interventions in nature and centralized regimes (the Bourbon reforms, the Porfiriato, and the Mexican Miracle); between extensive interventions and periods of decentralized political power (the wars of independence and the age of caudillos, the Mexican Revolution and the first decades of the Sonoran Dynasty); and, finally, between a “savage” mode of intervention and the decentralized power of present-day neoliberalism (p. 5).

The volume presents varied topics and approaches. Class analysis appears in Myrna Santiago’s examination of how the oil industry in Veracruz unevenly distributed ecological and health costs prior to 1938, and in Angus Wright’s discussion of soil usage in pre-Hispanic Mixtec society, which he uses to disassemble the notions of degraded soils and the Green Revolution that only aggravated soil problems in Mexico. Both Emily Wakild, studying the national park system and Chapultepec Park, and Rick López, examining the Royal Botanical Garden, use the tools of cultural history to show how intellectual and social tensions shaped how plant life and vegetated landscapes were understood, demarcated, and used under different political regimes. Economic history appears in José Juan Juárez Flores’s chapter on how industrialization and urbanization promoted destructive uses of the woodlands of La Malintzin in Tlaxcala by both communal and profiteering agents, and in Sterling Evans’s study of how both plantation henequen production and peasant communal farming were at odds with the ecology of Yucatecan brushlands and the indigenous itinerant agriculture it sustained. Other contributors use notions from the history of technology. Martín Sánchez Rodríguez, for instance, disrupts prevailing explanations of the Bajío’s rise as Mexico’s breadbasket with his discovery of a local technological innovation—the *cajas de agua*—that permitted the retention of torrential rains and flood farming. Micheline Cariño and Mario Monteforte trace the tension between transferred and autochthonous technologies and between predatory and sustainable entrepreneurial models in pearl aquaculture in the Gulf of California. Masterfully, Alejandro Tortolero Villaseñor and Luis Aboites Aguilar apply all these approaches to agricultural and urban water infrastructure, bursting open the conventional understanding of Zapatismo in 1910 Morelos and the rise and crisis of the post-revolutionary national state.

Unifying this variety is the skill with which the authors collectively steer the volume away from the gravitational pull of the declension narrative, navigating instead toward the hidden ecological workings of modern Mexican history. Such dexterity did not come out of nowhere: as Cynthia Radding points out in her closing remarks, Mexican environmental history grew under the roof of archaeology, anthropology, and agroecology, all disciplines with venerable and capacious institutions. Environmental history may manifest institutionally in different ways on either side of the border, but the environmental mode of historical analysis is hardly in its infancy in Mexico, perhaps as a result of the stronger influence there of the Annales School’s *histoire totale*.

This “snapshot of modern Mexican environmental historiography at this stage of its development” (p. 14) is a well-executed chiaroscuro: it draws attention to the periods, issues, and findings that are illuminated in its pages as well as those that are not. Shimmering brightly in the light is the conclusion that neither the intensive nor the extensive mode of political ecology corresponds to greater or lesser environmental destruction or recovery. On the other hand, the decades between the collapse of Spanish rule and the stabilization of the oligarchic republic under Porfirio Díaz remain unlit, despite being one of the most pregnant periods for the alternation between centralization and decentralization. John Tutino, Peter Guardino, and others have shown how everything was up for grabs then, as class, regional, and ideological priorities meshed and clashed over the creation—or imposition—of Mexico. None of the essays illuminate the environmental dimensions of these struggles—a pity both historiographically and in view of the volume’s stated intent of providing Mexicans with insights that might prevent them “from rushing headlong into an increasingly clouded future” (p. 16). With both its parallels and differences with the present state of affairs, where the adequacy of the nation-state itself is in question, the environmental history of this key period should not remain unexplored for long. May it be published in as fine a collection as this.

VERA S. CANDIANI, Princeton University

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Black Political Activism and the Cuban Republic. By MELINA PAPPADEMOS. Envisioning Cuba. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xi, 324 pp. Cloth, \$39.95.

Black Political Activism and the Cuban Republic is the latest book in a new line of scholarship that reflects the evolving trajectory of Cuban studies. Like other recent publications, Melina Pappademos’s book reframes ongoing discussions in the field. She analyzes local networks to put forth a convincing argument about the nature of black political activism in republican Cuba. Among its many contributions, *Black Political Activism and the Cuban Republic* will affect how scholars view electoral politics in Cuba—and indeed formal political channels in general—as meaningful sites of black experiences. The topic is one that has been long eschewed by scholars in favor of examining more subtle forms of black resistance, a choice that, as Pappademos aptly points out, can teeter dangerously on the brink of universalizing black experiences. This might well be the case, and thus this monograph goes a long way toward ensuring that readers reevaluate the meaning, sites, and practices of black political activism.

Black Political Activism and the Cuban Republic examines how local patronage networks among elite blacks reveal the fallacy of race-conscious organizing. Pappademos demonstrates that after Cuban independence, black civic leaders successfully participated in formal political channels. Theirs was an active struggle for finite national resources waged at the local level, one that relied heavily on the persistence of a “homo-

geneous construction of blackness” and a “black imagined community” (p. 225). This illustrates that elite blacks placed their claims for access to resources within the same national ideologies that would excise them from a Cuban body politic. Instead they drew on systems of patronage to ensure political power. As Pappademos states, “their assertions were pragmatic and rested on a monolithic conceptualization of republican racial order” (p. 225). The author cautions us, however, that while elite black political experience actively engaged national ideologies of black homogeneity, scholars should be wary of assuming this same universality on the level of identity or even a “real” diaspora connection between the black subjects she describes and other African-descended peoples. We might thus avoid subsuming black experience within the myths upon which the Cuban nation was built.

As much as this book is a study of black political activism, it is also a study of how national processes and politics were affected by local networks. The patronage networks central to Pappademos’s study may have bottlenecked in Havana, but they nonetheless crisscrossed the island, and Pappademos traces these networks through repositories located not just in the National Archives in Havana but also within provincial and municipal archives and libraries across the island. Trinidad, Cienfuegos, Santiago de Cuba, and Guantánamo, as well as Havana, are where Pappademos’s research was dutifully carried out. Cuban specialists will appreciate the importance of such a feat. While the book discusses processes long assumed to be centered in Havana, the title of the book makes emphatically clear that this is a study of black political activism throughout all of republican Cuba. Pappademos’s project is important because it actively works to do away with many of the assumptions held by scholars of Cuban studies.

Black Political Activism and the Cuban Republic is an excellent illustration of how the lens through which scholars view historical events dramatically alters the conclusions that they draw. This study signals a perceptible and important shift in scholarly approaches to Cuban history. Pappademos’s text is framed by an unapologetic theoretical engagement with the literature on black studies and the historiography on Cuba. And while she actively questions Cuban narratives, her book is not revisionist history. I do not think that Pappademos disagrees with the scholars she engages (indeed, on whose shoulders she stands). Instead, the importance of this project lies in the seemingly infinite possibilities for the study of the Cuban Republic that Pappademos exposes through her analysis. Black political activism and the participation of women, civic organizations, and imagined communities were but a few of the multiple factors affecting electoral politics in the Cuban Republic. If a publication can reframe the study of a field, then as far as this reviewer is concerned, this book has accomplished such a task.

GUADALUPE GARCÍA, Tulane University

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A expansão do Brasil e a formação dos estados na Bacia do Prata: Argentina, Uruguai e Paraguai (da colonização à Guerra da Tríplice Aliança). By LUIZ ALBERTO MONIZ BANDEIRA. 4th rev. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2012. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. 320 pp. Paper, R\$47.90.

The War of the Triple Alliance (or the Paraguayan War, 1864–70) has long served as a historical laboratory for scholars to explore ideas about nation building and imperialism in nineteenth-century South America. For a time during the latter half of the last century, scholars were enthralled to find in nineteenth-century Paraguay an autonomous challenge to the encroachment of British imperial capitalism, and they used this as a satisfying conceptual model to explain the conflict. In other words, British capitalist interests were the alleged true masterminds and beneficiaries of a war that used the client states of Brazil and Argentina to crush an alternative form of socioeconomic national development built by an independent Paraguayan state.

Most scholars have, by now, abandoned this interpretation due to a series of subsequent studies that found it had little empirical merit. Yet if the response to a recent article in the *Economist* about Paraguayan political life and the memory of the war is any indication, the interpretation still holds its appeal among a general reading public, many of whom are of South American origin. The fourth edition of Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira's intriguing work, *A expansão do Brasil e a formação dos estados na Bacia do Prata*, manifests its relevance in the context of this ongoing conversation about the war. This diplomatic history, originally completed as Dr. Moniz Bandeira's doctoral thesis during the mid-1970s, was one of the empirical works that undermined assigning any primary role to Great Britain in instigating the regionwide conflict. It effectively demonstrates that the involved combatants had plenty of their own material and geopolitical interests at stake. Yet the work does not eschew a conceptual role for imperialism to help explain the development of the war. And, on this account, its ability to still captivate the thinking of specialists should also be noted.

Although much of the research and analysis of the book culminates around explaining the war, Moniz Bandeira takes the long view. The study begins with an examination of Portuguese imperial expansion into the Río de la Plata region from the early days of the colonial period, with the infiltration of *bandeirantes* and slave traders into the Spanish-claimed lands of the Upper Paraná. However, Moniz Bandeira notes that it was the emergence of Buenos Aires as the hub of interimperial contraband trade, typically trafficking in the flows of Potosí silver and African slaves, which decidedly turned the port, and the region at large, into a target of Portuguese imperial ambition. These ambitions persisted, and perhaps grew, into the late colonial, independence, and early postcolonial periods. Moniz Bandeira's discussion of the founding of the Còlonia do Sacramento outpost, the 1817 Portuguese military occupation of the Banda Oriental (while the crown resided in Rio de Janeiro), and 1825–28 war with Argentina reminds readers, as other scholars have emphasized in recent years, how the extended processes of decolonization throughout the Americas, and especially in the Río de la Plata, remained

wrought with interimperial competition. Spain, Great Britain, France, Portugal, and, subsequently, the Empire of Brazil were the imperial players in this regard alongside new postcolonial republican states and insurgencies. And here Moniz Bandeira identifies the postcolonial, but still monarchic, Brazilian state as less of a rupture with and more of a curious outgrowth of the Portuguese colonial regime that crucially had been centered for a formative time in Brazil itself. The Brazilian state, he contends, inherited intact the strength of an established governing and diplomatic apparatus and eventually emerged by the mid-nineteenth century as the preponderant power in the region. He pushes us to indeed appreciate postcolonial Brazil as an imperial entity as well, just as its official title suggested.

The challenge of an emergent Paraguayan state then was not at all against the interests of Great Britain but against those of imperial Brazil. Here Moniz Bandeira also provides a substantial overview of upstart Plata republics and the fluid national configurations that attended them and their relationship with the Brazilian behemoth. The depiction left of Paraguay is nonetheless also a typical one: the export-monopoly, family-estate operation whose renewed stake in the regional yerba maté trade financed its limited acquisition of industrial military technology and inspired its bluster. However ill-positioned to really challenge Brazilian hegemony, Paraguay's potential chokehold on the Upper Plata river system—sealing off the empire from its province Mato Grosso—and its willingness to gamble on the powder keg of Uruguayan domestic conflict to alter the dynamics of economic influence in the Plata set the stage for a war that Brazil proved all too eager to fight.

Otherwise soundly researched, the work's limited incorporation of new literature on the war largely confines its interpretation of state action to being the mere pursuit of material interests and the settling of borders. But these remain important considerations, as scholars may choose to explore other dynamics of homegrown postcolonial imperialism in the region, its impact on state formation, and the unfolding of a terrible war.

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Brazilian Art under Dictatorship: Antonio Manuel, Artur Barrio, and Cildo Meireles.

By CLAUDIA CALIRMAN. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. Photographs. Plates. Illustrations. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xvii, 211 pp. Paper, \$24.95.

In recent years, art historians have shed light on the new forms of artistic production and distribution that arose in the context of repressive regimes in several Latin American nations during and after the 1960s. These manifestations, which some scholars since the 1990s have grouped together as “conceptualisms,” extended beyond the boundaries of traditional painting and sculpture into the realms of performative actions, ephemeral objects, site-specific installations, and networks of circulation (such as mail art). *Brazilian Art under Dictatorship: Antonio Manuel, Artur Barrio, and Cildo Meireles* addresses

some of these developments as they pertained to Brazil through a study of the politically critical, yet not propagandistic, artworks produced by three Rio de Janeiro-based artists between 1968 and 1975, the most repressive years of Brazil's dictatorship. As the first single-author book in English to consider this period from the perspective of art history, Claudia Calirman's concise monograph offers a new and useful framework for analyzing contemporary Brazilian art. At the same time, it contributes to the extensive body of literature on responses to the regime in the fields of history and political science, complementing existing studies of the concurrent Tropicália movement in music.

Though the military came to power in 1964, it did not severely limit Brazil's cultural sphere until late 1968, when Ato Institucional #5 (Institutional Act #5, or AI-5) provided a legal basis for censorship of the press and imprisonment of dissidents without trial. Visual artists attracted little governmental attention compared with their more visible peers in music and theater, who were at times arrested and forced into exile. Within this context, Calirman argues that Antonio Manuel (b. 1947), Artur Barrio (b. 1945), and Cildo Meireles (b. 1948)—three of several artists working in a conceptualist vein in Brazil in the 1960s and 1970s—were all committed to addressing the nation's repressive climate in their artworks while avoiding propagandistic images or slogans, thereby developing new aesthetic proposals while evading censors. Calirman draws on personal interviews with the artists and with curator and art critic Frederico Moraes and also utilizes archival documents and photographs to craft a “narrative of creative advancement in the face of regressive politics” (p. 9). In the process, she charts a history of new exhibition venues and evolving critical attitudes that emerged within a tumultuous climate of uncertainty that reached beyond Brazilian borders.

Calirman's first chapter, which evaluates the international boycott of the X Bienal de São Paulo (X São Paulo Biennial) in 1969 as a local watershed, sets the stage for three subsequent chapters that address Manuel, Barrio, and Meireles, respectively, as participants in a search for new forms of artistic expression and nuanced social critique. Manuel, she argues, did this by exhibiting his own body as artwork and by intervening in the layout and distribution of tabloid newspapers, challenging media censorship. Meanwhile, Barrio exhibited bloodstained, corpse-like bundles of animal bones in the streets, eerily evoking the disappeared. Finally, Meireles's sculptures, performances, and insertions into existing systems of exchange invoked the regime's torture of political prisoners, as when he stamped “Quem matou Herzog?” (Who killed Herzog?) on banknotes that he returned into circulation, furtively questioning the death of a respected journalist in 1975 (p. 140).

Brazilian Art under Dictatorship's chronological and thematic emphasis on the most repressive years of Brazil's military regime makes it an important contribution within a field dominated by biographical monographs that span the arc of an artist's career. It complements a growing body of literature on conceptualist tendencies that flourished around the globe beginning in the 1960s, tendencies that are typically both local and transnational in character. In offering detailed information about the relationship of visual art to political conditions in Brazil at a pivotal moment, Calirman opens path-

ways for richer comparative analysis. As she notes, it is up to others to explore resonances between these three artists' practices and those of their contemporaries in Brazil, elsewhere in Latin America, and beyond; the comparisons she draws are predominantly with New York-based artists, from Vito Acconci to Andy Warhol. Another area for further research is the ways in which Manuel, Barrio, and Meireles's practices represented a broader interest in challenging established hierarchies of mediums and institutions within the conflicts and protests of the global sixties. In this sense, the boycott of the 1969 São Paulo Biennial could be evaluated productively not only as a response to Brazil's military dictatorship but also in relation to the international boycott of the 1968 Venice Biennale and the formation of Mexico's *Salón Independiente* in the same year. The fact that these three artists' efforts corresponded to a broader shift in artistic and critical approaches reinforces their significance to contemporary art writ large.

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Between the Guerrillas and the State: The Cocalero Movement, Citizenship, and Identity in the Colombian Amazon. By MARÍA CLEMENCIA RAMÍREZ. Translated by ANDY KLATT. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xv, 312 pp. Paper, \$24.95.

First published in Spanish in 2001, María Clemencia Ramírez's revised and updated book evocatively traces the trajectory of one of twentieth-century Colombia's largest but most overlooked social movements: the efforts of southern Colombian peasant coca cultivators (*cocaleros*) to gain recognition from a central state that had long dismissed their region as a site of transiency and disorder. In other words, the book is a "study of marginalization" (p. 17) and its contestation through collective action centered on demands for citizenship. It is also among the first English-language monographs to address the regional consequences of the US war on drugs and its counterinsurgent variants in Colombia.

Between the Guerrillas and the State focuses on the California-sized Colombian Amazon, particularly the New Hampshire-sized department of Putumayo. Over the last century, waves of agricultural migrants have been drawn to this internal frontier zone by "an evolving cycle of commodity booms," of which coca is only the most recent (p. 23). Ramírez establishes how such migration, along with geographic imaginings of Putumayo as a wild place, has led national elites and more established locals to define migrants in exclusively negative terms. Throughout the book, Ramírez captures well "the feeling of abandonment" (p. 9), both symbolic and material, that lies at the heart of Putumayans' interactions with the outside.

In the mid-1990s, the process of identity formation took on new dimensions as Colombia—and Putumayo specifically—produced a growing share of world coca output. Compelled by the United States to take action against the drug trade, the Colom-

bian government commenced aerial spraying of coca and adopted harsh measures against cocaine processing. Linked to cocaleros in other departments through international forums, empowered by the inclusionary 1991 Constitution, and able to draw on decades of their own experience mobilizing for social services, Putumayo's cocaleros responded with a series of massive civic protests to demand equitable treatment. Through agreements in 1995 and 1996, the cocaleros received from the state not only promises of development assistance but also recognition as Putumayan and Colombian citizens.

By the end of the decade, however, the cocalero movement found itself unable to transform into a political movement that could see through these gains. Paramilitaries arrived in the region to counter the FARC guerrillas' growing strength. The high levels of violence that ensued allowed state officials to once more portray Putumayo as an inherently dangerous area. Paramilitary terror and a stressed FARC also drove political activity underground, a shift intensified by the escalation of government and US pressure for the immediate eradication of coca. Struggles over citizenship became increasingly circumscribed.

Ramírez's ethnographic work in the Amazon region, courageously conducted during the FARC-paramilitary war of the late 1990s, infuses this book with its most compelling material. Ramírez additionally offers two noteworthy insights into "local state formation" that can be generalized beyond Putumayo. First, she shows how the decentralization reforms of the 1980s opened mayoral positions to local leaders, who retained their sense of alienation from the central state. This dynamic leads Ramírez to conceive of state and civil society as existing on a continuum rather than in separate spheres. Second, Ramírez presents a provocative reconsideration of the relationship between the guerrillas and the state. Chapter 6 demonstrates how the FARC did not seek to "replac[e] the broader role of the state" but rather made selective use of state institutions as a means "to govern and control the population" (p. 172). Here are indispensable clues into the durability of the FARC.

Yet despite her generally sensitive reading of discourses on deviancy, Ramírez's portrayal of Colombian history unintentionally replicates tropes about the permanence of the country's violence. For instance, she naturalizes the FARC's influence, concluding that "a state of generalized violence has existed ever since" the group's establishment in the mid-1960s (p. 42). By contrast, several of her informants observe that violence came only with coca in the early 1980s. Furthermore, rather than exemplifying the guerrillas' "very real local authority," as Ramírez indicates (p. 45), FARC restrictions on drug traffickers in the late 1980s can alternatively be seen as a fundamentally constitutive moment in the FARC's evolution.

Ramírez's coverage of larger settings is also at times incomplete. The scale of the FARC's war in Putumayo circa 1996 and the national background behind the paramilitaries' arrival in the department deserve more systematic attention. In addition, pertinent comparisons between Putumayo and coca cultivation in Bolivia and Peru are largely relegated to the endnotes.

Between the Guerrillas and the State is nonetheless a rich and much-needed addition

to our understanding of contemporary Colombia. The seemingly regional story of Putumayo possesses important transnational components and suggests how internal conflicts and US foreign policy can shape social movements and citizenship in Latin America.

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Long Live Atahualpa: Indigenous Politics, Justice, and Democracy in the Northern Andes.

By EMMA CERVONE. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Appendix. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 332 pp. Paper, \$25.95.

Emma Cervone's *Long Live Atahualpa* contributes to the scholarly trend of examining Ecuadorian indigenous political activism from the perspective of grassroots organizations rather than only via national indigenous leaders. Also important is Cervone's focus on activism in the central highland civil parish of Tixán, Chimborazo, rather than on the better-known cases in the northern highlands of Ecuador. Cervone asserts that examining national events from a local perspective "works at the frontier of culture, identity, and power to explore the meanings generated in the everyday by the people who resist domination" (p. 19).

The focus on Tixán and Cervone's many years in residence there provide a richly detailed discussion of indigenous versus nonindigenous perceptions of the rise of the Inca Atahualpa organization in the region. She shows, for example, how the context of national indigenous uprisings emboldened local indigenous peoples to act on their grievances (particularly over land) and how the rise of the *indianada* made nonindigenous *tixaneños* both resentful of indigenous actions and afraid to counter them. Moreover, her discussion of local indigenous politics considers not only the big moments of overt confrontation but also the resistances offered through daily interactions, particularly the ways in which indigenous peoples often ignored abusive demands rather than submitting to them. It was out of this particular convergence of local and national politics that the Inca Atahualpa organization came to serve as an alternative justice system in Tixán (p. 171), holding meetings on Sundays to hear disputes between indigenous peoples and to mete out justice, including punishments for those found guilty.

Perhaps the best discussion of the overlapping issues of identity, politics, and inter-ethnic interactions in Tixán can be found in chapter 6, "Celebrating Diversity," in which Cervone scrutinizes the "festival of the Quichuas" held in Tixán around the summer solstice in June. The celebrations date back to the days in which hacienda owners presided over harvest festivals, but in the aftermath of the 1960s agrarian reform, indigenous peoples gradually took over the planning and oversight of the festival, which became an indigenous event located in the white-mestizo town center of Tixán. It was symbolically, culturally, and politically crucial as an event that developed alongside rising political activism. Eventually, the festival became more inclusive of nonindigenous as well as indigenous peoples. Cervone offers a particularly fine discussion in this chapter of the

variety of ways that indigenous peoples used clothing to highlight distinct parts of their identities at different times. In this chapter, theory and detail, collective and individual experiences, and indigenous and nonindigenous views all blend seamlessly for a powerful and fascinating look at a well-known yearly event.

Other chapters do not blend theory and detail or description and analysis nearly as well. Cervone offers interesting quotes and descriptions throughout the monograph, but these are typically separated from theoretical discussions, and the connections between the two are often not well developed. Moreover, despite Cervone's emphasis on doing "politically engaged" anthropology by collaborating with the indigenous group she studied (p. 31), she makes only brief references to things like organizing workshops in Tixán. This was a missed opportunity to explore the significance of anthropological engagement along the lines set out by Maximilian Viatori in *One State, Many Nations: Indigenous Rights Struggles in Ecuador* (2009), in which he discusses his political involvements with the Amazonian community that he studied.

Cervone is at her best when discussing the rising political power of both the Inca Atahualpa organization and the broader Ecuadorian indigenous movement in the 1990s. Her discussion of events from 2000 forward offers a useful summary of scholarly studies on national developments, but her references to local activities are brief in contrast to her richly textured and specific discussions of the Inca Atahualpa movement in the 1990s. More problematic is her discussion of the earlier twentieth century: she often takes indigenous peoples' memories of the hacienda system as fact rather than analyzing them in light of the context in which they were made. Furthermore, she does not take full advantage of some of the available scholarship on the preagrarian reform decades, such as Marc Becker's groundbreaking study of Indian-state relations in the early to mid-twentieth century, *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements* (2008), which, while included in her bibliography, is underutilized. Similarly, although she often mentions haciendas in Chimborazo and the problem of respect for indigenous peoples, she never references the important work of fellow anthropologist Barry Lyons on these subjects, *Remembering the Hacienda: Religion, Authority, and Social Change in Highland Ecuador* (2006).

Even with these limitations, *Long Live Atahualpa* is a solid book that will be of interest to scholars who focus on the complex issues of indigenous identity and politics, particularly with regard to local versus national experiences of political change both in Ecuador and in Latin America more generally.

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Celebraciones centenarias y negociaciones por la nación ecuatoriana.

Edited by VALERIA CORONEL and MERCEDES PRIETO. Quito: FLACSO, Sede Ecuador / Ministerio de Cultura, 2010. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. 349 pp. Paper.

The centennials related to the process of independence generated much activity in Quito and an important historiography, but this volume centers instead on the second part of the title, *negociaciones por la nación ecuatoriana*. The editors of this volume elected to explore the cultural, social, and artistic realities of the period between the triumph of the liberals in 1895 and the revolution of 1925 and how these transformed the country. The authors of these essays not only demonstrate the tentative and difficult nature of social and cultural change but also emphasize the importance of continuity.

Aside from a jargon-riddled introduction, the eight essays, which are based on original research, are well written. Interested in the process of modernization, these may be divided into three categories: those concerned with the role of culture (the essays by Ernesto Capello, Trinidad Pérez, Eduardo Kingman, and Valeria Coronel); those interested in the role of women (the essays by Ana María Goetschel and Gioconda Herrera); and those focused on the role of Indians (the essays by Mercedes Prieto and Sarah A. Radcliffe). Given the collection's length and complexity, I will only address certain key aspects of these essays.

Capello's interesting essay argues that the celebrations of the eighteenth-century Franco-Hispanic geodesic survey to establish the equatorial line contributed not only to the development of cartography but also to the establishment of a sense of national identity among Ecuadorians. This achievement, as he shows in detail, resulted in the proliferation of maps, particularly of the city of Quito and the Amazon region. The latter proved useful to early twentieth-century Ecuador as it contested Peruvian claims to disputed territories. Ultimately, the expansion of cartography resulted in the creation of the Instituto Geográfico Militar, which continued that task. Pérez examines the process by which the new Escuela de Bellas Artes, founded in 1904, introduced modern art that flourished during the first half of the twentieth century, marking a division from the old *bellas artes* and the artisan and manual arts. The new art movement produced outstanding painters and sculptors who incorporated Indians into their works. Kingman, on the other hand, demonstrates the vitality of popular culture in Quito, particularly in the parish of San Roque, which became a haven for rural people, especially Indians. There the traditional corporate culture found a hospitable location from where to become part of an urban society. Coronel analyzes the manner in which both the new liberals and the Catholic conservatives sought to influence the growing labor movement. Seeking to avoid future armed revolts, each promoted the formation of labor organizations, which would support their respective interests, by arguing that a civilized society could resolve disagreements peacefully. Neither the populist liberals nor the populist conservatives, however, attempted to include rural workers, primarily Indians, in their new civilized society.

Goetschel considers the contradictory positions of liberals toward women during the years 1907–1909. She notes that the liberal reforms, such as secular schools and greater freedom of the press, provided women with opportunities to function outside the home. But when women expressed political views contrary to those of the liberals, their status was restricted. Moreover, while the constitutions of 1896 and 1906 established the basis for women's suffrage, women were unable to vote until 1929, after the July 1925 revolution reformed the electoral system. In contrast, Herrera examines the Catholic Women's Congress of 1909, which also accepted women's presence in the public as well as the private sphere. However, the church also emphasized women's role as the defender of society's morals.

Quito celebrated three centenaries during this period: the 1809 revolution, the achievement of independence in 1822, and the 1830 establishment of the Republic of Ecuador. Prieto maintains that the elites were identified as the precursors of independence in the first centennial celebration. Conversely, Indians were perceived as symbols; they existed only as monuments of pre-Hispanic heroes, such as Atahualpa. In the second centennial, Indians were included in the historical narratives as supporters of the liberating army. This led to a debate about their true role in the independence movement and to discussions about their deplorable status in the countryside. During the third centennial, archaeologists and historians reconstructed Indians' ancient past and subsequent history. Other provinces also held celebrations, and Indians participated in some of these. In addition, the centennial coincided with the fourth centenary of the death of Atahualpa, the last Inca ruler, who during this moment was imagined as the founder of the nation. The new perspective resulted in the distinction between urban Indians who now possessed a sense of their past and rural Indians who lost their own history and relied on folklore. The last essay by Radcliffe has nothing to do with centennials. Instead, the author traces the lives of contemporary Indian women leaders and their political activities. She concludes that the women she studied cannot be seen merely as representatives of an ethnic group; they also possess a feminine identity. They each have their own experiences, which cannot be generalized.

This volume, which may be criticized by some, reflects the work of a new generation of Ecuadorian scholars. It is an important first step in the development of a new history of the country.

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Modernizing Minds in El Salvador: Education Reform and the Cold War, 1960–1980.

By HÉCTOR LINDO-FUENTES and ERIK CHING. Diálogos. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012. Illustrations. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xv, 341 pp. Paper, \$24.95.

Since the nineteenth century, liberal ideology has been essential to the formation of the modern nation-state in Latin America. The principle of education has also been key in consolidating and legitimizing this historical process of nation-state formation. Yet to what extent do so-called educational reforms perpetuate unjust systems of social exclusion? These unjust systems developed in the wake of the global economic depression of 1930, and in El Salvador, Central America's smallest territory, they served to strengthen the absolute control of some 14 families that owned the largest amount of land. Afterward, armed violence was used to punish the rest of the country's population and to maintain these harrowing, bloody, and violent social exclusions. It is worth noting that, while El Salvador is the case set forth in Héctor Lindo-Fuentes and Erik Ching's recent study, a similar pattern has also been followed in both Nicaragua and Guatemala.

During the Cold War, the United States considered Central America its own personal backyard. In 1968, President Lyndon B. Johnson visited El Salvador to inaugurate the use of public television education in an effort to revive the Alliance for Progress in Latin America. Educational reform was clearly underway in the country and, as the authors point out, the educational television project had "consumed half of the total reform budget from 1966 to 1970" in addition to receiving "US\$11 million in grants and loans from the United States, US\$5 million from the World Bank, and another US\$2 million from bilateral aid" (p. 105). Paradoxically, this coincided with numerous student protests in rich industrialized nations such as England and France. The opulence of these rich countries sharply contrasted with El Salvador's massive poverty, illiteracy, and experience of cruel repression carried out by the wealthy landowning families supported by their army and financed by that rich northern uncle, who also supplied their weapons. How could this educational reform change such a poor country left behind and anchored in traditional export agriculture?

Neoliberal ideology has established a tacit agreement between the rich and the poor to develop industrialization as the only means by which to modernize the minds of the people. Lindo-Fuentes and Ching further explain this ideological approach and make very clear that the United States promoted education and industrialization as part of a strategy for combating the possibility of another Cuban Revolution in Latin America. Among the various regional challenges within the Central American Common Market, one is to promote the education of the labor force in order to stimulate this new economy of integration. During the 1960s and 1970s, El Salvador became the leading industrial country in the region, which revealed the need to prepare its workers.

For the government of El Salvador as run by the country's wealthy families, modernizing society meant receiving large amounts of money, transferring new technologies such as television, and training soldiers to use military equipment. The elite took control of the majority of the poor people and established new links of dependency, strengthen-

ing foreign cooperation and promoting only bureaucratic policymakers. Yet the exclusion of the majority of the public social and political actors fostered by these governance structures can adversely affect the necessary social justice balance, causing such structures to collapse easily. Perhaps the prolonged strikes of Salvadoran educators in 1968 and 1971 were movements against these particular modern ideological and political circumstances, and they encouraged armed struggles of polarization and total annihilation. The civil wars in the region replaced the incipient and ultimately failed Central American Common Market.

It is quite possible that the bombs that destroyed the National University of El Salvador in 1980 could have strengthened citizens' consciousness regarding the direction needed for Salvadoran society. Transferring technology from rich to poor countries is not the only way to promote modernity. Education's core value should be strengthening the social inclusion of the majority of the Salvadoran people. Yet most colleagues would probably concur with Lindo-Fuentes and Ching that "the rampant inequality in wealth and power that characterized El Salvador had not improved; in fact, it had worsened. Instead of transforming society, schools continued to reproduce inequality and legitimize the existing social order" (pp. 236–37). They would likewise agree "that the government was spending disproportionately high amounts of money on a select few, mostly urban students at the higher levels" (p. 237).

Both the academic community and the average citizen should read Lindo-Fuentes and Ching's analysis, which constitutes an invitation to undertake further studies into the relationship between education and modernization in Latin America. These future studies may perhaps place greater emphasis on two specific aspects: how educators, workers, and military personnel interrelate, and how public education has participated in the formation of an active, conscious, and critical citizenship. How much more will it take for us to accept that education is at the heart of any political and ideological proposal to improve social justice?

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Pensamiento y acción en González Prada, Mariátegui y Haya de la Torre.

By EUGENIO CHANG-RODRÍGUEZ. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2012. Photographs. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. 437 pp. Paper.

Three figures define Peru's leftist political landscape in the first half of the twentieth century. The anarchist Manuel González Prada, seared by Peru's defeat in the War of the Pacific, became one of the country's most outspoken critics. After his death in 1918, his mantle was picked up by José Carlos Mariátegui, who outlined an unorthodox Peruvian socialism, and the charismatic Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, who founded Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA), the country's most important political party. Adding to an extensive literature on these three foundational figures, Chang-Rodríguez

offers a thorough summary of their thinking on religion, politics, and *indigenismo*. After an introductory chapter on Peru's nineteenth-century economic and political history, he sketches these three figures' biographies and analyzes and assesses the influence of each man's thought, arguing that while both Mariátegui and Haya built on González Prada's ideas, only Haya converted them into political action.

González Prada was important not because he provided a coherent political doctrine or program but because he was a motivator who "denounces, accuses, and advises" (p. 150). Disillusioned with electoral politics, he turned to newspapers, becoming the region's most important disseminator of anarchist ideas. Yet his anarchism, Chang-Rodríguez argues, was more about opposing domination than government, which he wanted to reduce to its most minimal expression in an egalitarian society. Intellectuals have long debated how to integrate the country's large and historically excluded indigenous population into Peru's national life. Both Mariátegui and Haya followed González Prada in arguing that this "Indian question" was neither a racial nor a pedagogical problem but instead a socioeconomic one that would be resolved by ending indigenous peoples' economic exploitation.

While broadly concurring on the roots of indigenous exploitation, the three diverged on religion. Chang-Rodríguez argues that all three men were more influenced by religious faith than commonly recognized. Repulsed by his family's extreme religiosity, González Prada became obsessed with religion, although Chang-Rodríguez argues he was more anticlerical than antireligious. Critics who consider Mariátegui one of Latin America's most important socialist thinkers have overlooked or dismissed his religiosity as an artifact of his youth. It was even erased when a biographer substituted "social revolutionary fervor" for what Mariátegui described as a rally's "religious fervor" (p. 192). Instead, Chang-Rodríguez sees the intensity of Mariátegui's religious feeling as key to understanding the man, a fundamental characteristic of his personality nourishing his ideological heterodoxy and rooting his imperative to political action. For Chang-Rodríguez, Mariátegui becomes a precursor to Latin American liberation theology. Mariátegui, however, was not as concerned with doctrine as with religion's power to move men to action. A key influence was Georges Sorel. Mariátegui came to believe that myths drove human energy toward not stability but action, and he considered literature an effective political weapon because it was the deposit of the collective unconscious, of this human drive to reach utopia.

Since González Prada turned to newspapers and Mariátegui focused on literature, both failed to translate ideas into a political program, a task in which Haya would succeed by founding APRA. In Chang-Rodríguez's reading, this makes Haya and APRA González Prada's legitimate intellectual heirs in everything except religion. Refuting long-standing attacks that both APRA and its founder were antireligious, Chang-Rodríguez personally confirms that Haya was a believer and devotes a section of his study to defending APRA as neither anti-Catholic nor anticlerical. Another section outlines what Apristas consider Haya's principal theoretical contribution to political philosophy: his theory of historical space-time. Haya incorporated insights from modern

physics and relativity into his concept of history to develop a theory, often decried as incomprehensible by critics, that at its core claims that different societies have different (relative) perspectives on history, rooted in their own ideas and ideologies. Chang-Rodríguez details how Haya, wondering how to classify Amerindian civilizations within a European conception of history, developed this theory over 20 years.

Chang-Rodríguez has been publishing on these topics since the 1940s. As a linguist and literary critic, his analysis of González Prada's and Mariátegui's literary works is especially rich. His personal connection to the story bears the most fruit in the section on Haya, where the footnotes testify to decades of conversations with both principal and bit characters and enliven his text with personal memories and anecdotal asides. Chang-Rodríguez mentions the growing internal party dissent as Haya and the leadership became more conservative, but he does not flesh out how strongly such ideological changes were felt or how many partisans left at key junctures. Nonetheless, the text, written in what David Werlich once labeled the Aprista "court historian" tone, wears its Aprista sympathies lightly. While Chang-Rodríguez's attention to background and history provides useful context, it can become exhaustive and take away from the focus on the three thinkers. At times, the text can also lean too strongly on citations and summaries instead of analysis. However, this does not ultimately detract from what is a welcome summary, comparison, and analysis of the thought of three key figures in Peruvian political philosophy.

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International and Comparative

Chinese Mexicans: Transpacific Migration and the Search for a Homeland, 1910–1960.

By JULIA MARÍA SCHIAVONE CAMACHO. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xvi, 226 pp. Cloth, \$39.95.

Julia María Schiavone Camacho's book, entitled *Chinese Mexicans: Transpacific Migration and the Search for a Homeland, 1910–1960*, is a welcome addition to the burgeoning scholarship on Mexican diaspora studies and immigrant self-positioning. Schiavone Camacho uncovers and documents the history of roughly 500 Chinese Mexicans who left Mexico and repatriated. These are Chinese men who married Mexican women and were forced to leave Mexico, Mexican women who lost their citizenship by marrying a foreigner, or the children of these latter relationships. In her analysis, Schiavone Camacho makes a compelling case that oral interviews add a texture needed to better understand the gendered construction of nationality and citizenship in twentieth-century Mexico. She conducted 27 interviews with both men and women as part of this diaspora study, with

her strongest chapters appearing in the third and fourth parts of the book. The book is divided into four parts: "Chinese Settlement in Northwestern Mexico and Local Responses"; "Chinese Removal"; "Chinese Mexican Community Formation and Reinventing Mexican Citizenship Abroad"; and "Finding the Way Back to the Homeland." The first two parts of the book provide useful historical overviews and reframe previously used primary sources such as the papers of José Angel Espinoza and José María Arana. In the third section of the book, Schiavone Camacho examines how deported (and some self-exiled) Chinese Mexicans situated in Southeast Asia (in Guangdong province, Hong Kong, and Macau, specifically) reimagine their Mexican national identity: "They became Mexican in China" (p. 173). This account of strategic nationalism is layered with a gendered analysis. It reveals how Mexico occupied a patriarchal place in the lives of Chinese Mexicans both in Mexico and abroad during the administrations of Lázaro Cárdenas and Adolfo López Mateos.

Building on the pioneering work of Evelyn Hu-DeHart and more recent works by Robert Chao Romero, Grace Delgado, Kif Augustine-Adams, Isabelle Lausent-Herrera, José Jorge Gómez Izquierdo, Aarón Grageda Bustamante, and others on Chinese immigrants in Mexico, Schiavone Camacho carefully draws on Sino-Mexican relations to argue that Chinese Mexicans deported in the 1930s, along with those repatriated in the late 1930s and 1950s, complicate the dominant Mexican discourse of immigrant exclusion. These Chinese Mexicans with interstitial citizenships allow a more nuanced understanding of how Mexican policymakers, and Mexicans more generally, racialized the Chinese and later felt sympathy for them. Emphasizing this contradictory behavior is not unique in studying immigrant groups in the Americas; however, the gendered approach and the focus on how Mexican women negotiated their position with Chinese and Mexican government officials are novel attributes of Schiavone Camacho's work.

Schiavone Camacho asserts that the hybrid identities of Chinese Mexicans are strategic and seemingly genuine because of their desire to return to an imagined Mexico that once rejected and deported them. Her interviews clearly reinforce this idea, which she calls "diasporic Mexican citizenship" (p. 6). As a reader, however, I would have liked to have seen both more discussion of her interactions with her informants and a bit of skepticism regarding their stories. Were any of the Chinese Mexicans duplicitous in their interactions with one another? Did their destitute situations in mainland China, Hong Kong, and Macau truly forge such lasting bonds to be drawn upon when they returned to Mexico?

Chinese Mexicans is an accessible book. It can be used well with undergraduate courses and is a good teaching tool for those in the field of oral history. Schiavone Camacho's argument about *chineros* (Chinese-friendly Mexicans) and *antichinistas* (anti-Chinese Mexicans) shows that Mexicans and Mexican policymakers were not monolithically racist, nor were they consistently complicit with such racism (p. 39). Scholars examining Spaniards, Japanese, Arabs, and Jews in Mexico have also made this case about the country's ambivalent treatment of its immigrants. Schiavone Camacho's chronological layout also makes the text easy to follow. The strength of the work is its use of a gendered

lens to better understand how Mexican immigration policies affected women, their families, and their relationships with their husbands and larger Mexican families. The stories revealed in the diplomatic correspondence of the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, combined with women's letters about their hardships in Asia, provide a much-needed dimension to discussions of deportation policies. Moreover, the stories recollected by these deported families' children illustrate the tragic predicament of stateless people, topics that unfortunately resonate in current US politics.

Lastly, I commend Schiavone Camacho for bridging the disparate scholarship of borderland studies, immigration and legal histories, Mexican and Chinese histories, and gender studies in her history of social justice for Chinese Mexican families.

THERESA ALFARO-VELCAMP, Sonoma State University

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2210795

Fevered Measures: Public Health and Race at the Texas-Mexico Border, 1848–1942.

By JOHN MCKIERNAN-GONZÁLEZ. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.

Photographs. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xvi, 416 pp.

Paper, \$26.95.

John Mckiernan-González, assistant professor at the University of Texas at Austin, tackles a daunting list of topics in *Fevered Measures*, including race, ethnicity, national identity, shifting borders, the meaning of citizenship, and state formation. Using a series of case studies, the author demonstrates how political borders and medical borders did not always coincide. Medical borders could change depending on the health threat involved and the framework within which health officers approached it. There was no guarantee that this new medical boundary would correspond to the existing international boundary.

The author begins by defining the various political, ethnic, and racial labels that were used to describe people: American, Anglo, Mexican, Mexican American, and Tejano, to offer only a partial listing. He also furnishes some background medical information on the diseases that will play such an important role in the unfolding of his narrative: smallpox, typhus, typhoid, cholera, and yellow fever. It was the public health officials who determined the medical border, the line drawn to protect American citizens. As a result, public health policies played an important role in establishing national identity. Public health officials, especially officers of the federal US Marine Hospital Service (USMHS), converted medical authority into political authority through their ability to control the flow of traffic in the border region.

Professor Mckiernan-González's first case study involves the US-Mexican War of 1846–1848. The military victories of the United States in the war were almost undone by the medical problems the country's army experienced, which led to a high death rate among US forces. After civil war in Mexico and the United States in the 1860s, public health concerns became a part of the national reconstruction plans of both nations. The USMHS received the power to develop policies to meet epidemics, implementing

its first military quarantine in response to an outbreak of yellow fever in Brownsville, Texas, in 1882. The quarantine involved the creation of a 190-mile-long quarantine line stretching from Laredo to Corpus Christi, effectively putting a large part of South Texas outside America's medical boundaries and giving control over movement across the Rio Grande to the USMHS. The area quarantine seemed to confirm in the minds of Americans that Mexicans posed a medical threat.

The attitudes of American medical authorities toward quarantines, of which they initially disapproved, changed dramatically in the decade after 1882, when quarantines were made a central feature of government plans. Quarantines had become a means of asserting state sovereignty. Quarantines along the Texas-Mexico border once again emphasized the problem of distinguishing between *Mexican* as a basis for national citizenship and *Mexican* as referring to an ethnic community in Texas. Reformers in the late nineteenth century were increasingly concerned about how public health fit with social justice.

One of the case studies that receives extensive coverage from Mckiernan-González is that of American colonists moving to Mexico. A group of African Americans were to move from Alabama to work with the Tlahualilo Agricultural Company in northern Mexico as sharecroppers. The colonists had been misled about the conditions that they would operate in and rebelled at the treatment they were receiving from the company. They also demanded that the US government intervene to help them. The situation became even more complicated when smallpox broke out among the colonists, leading American public health officials to assert their medical sovereignty in the case. The US government came to the rescue of the colonists. When the colonists arrived in Texas, state officials placed all of them under quarantine. Texas officials later turned the colonists over to federal officials, who used them as research subjects in testing a smallpox antitoxin. The Tlahualilo intervention expanded the concept of *quarantine* and once again clearly demonstrated that the medical border did not necessarily coincide with the political border.

One of the most spectacular case studies in this text involves the smallpox riot in Laredo in 1899. When public health authorities attempted to implement a program of vaccination and fumigation, there was strong local resistance. Opposition to the program eventually led to the involvement of the Texas Rangers and US Cavalry. While some considered vaccination as evidence of the modernization taking place on both sides of the border, others resisted forced vaccination into the 1940s.

Professor Mckiernan-González demonstrates how public health activities helped to create a new sense of nationhood and changed the idea of disease in the Texas-Mexico borderlands. Drawing upon extensive archival resources in both the United States and Mexico, he provides a different way of approaching racial, cultural, and even diplomatic relations in the borderlands. *Fevered Measures* will make an excellent addition to such works as Amy Fairchild's *Science at the Borders: Immigrant Medical Inspection and the Shaping of the Modern Industrial Labor Force* (2003) and *Continental Crossroads: Remapping U.S.-Mexico Borderlands History* (2004), edited by Samuel Truett and Elliott Young.

DON M. COERVER, Texas Christian University

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New Approaches to Resistance in Brazil and Mexico. Edited by JOHN GLEDHILL and PATIENCE A. SCHELL. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. Notes. Bibliography. Index. ix, 398 pp. Paper, \$28.95.

In the conclusion of this provocative work, the historian Alan Knight tries “to pin down” the meaning of resistance (p. 325), which is at the heart of the project that inspired the production of this book. In his introduction, anthropologist John Gledhill makes “a case for rethinking resistance” (p. 1), a process he and coeditor Patience Schell, a cultural studies professor, helped organize through a series of seminars held in Brazil, Mexico, and England. Knight agrees with Gledhill that resistance is a useful category of analysis if social scientists and humanists “aspire to a more just and less unequal society” (p. 338). Indeed, the majority of the 17 authors would seem to agree, if their choice of objects is indicative, that the subjects of resistance studies should be subordinate individuals and groups, not elites.

This is one criteria Knight discusses in attempting to elevate *resistance* to the category of a “big, old concept” by making its definition “reasonably clear and consensual” (pp. 327–28). At stake is the supposed vacuum left by the debasement of utopian meta-narratives like Communism and the theories like Marxism that sustained them. As late twentieth-century historical events tarnished the luster of revolutions and nationalisms, resistance came into vogue as a means of explaining power relations, especially in capitalist societies. The political scientist James C. Scott coined phrases such as “weapons of the weak” and “everyday forms of resistance” that generated academic cottage industries. The subaltern of the Gramsci-inspired Indian academy replaced peasants and workers, as class became passé. Resistance studies became so identified with moral and political posturing, however, that its production declined precipitously in the twenty-first century. Just as some social movements transformed into nongovernmental organizations, the neoliberal consensus demanded accommodation from scholars.

The book under review tilts against these winds of change by seeking to enhance the epistemological rigor of resistance studies through 15 detailed case studies of historical experiences in Brazil and Mexico. Anthropologists and contemporary cases predominate, but historians are present in nearly all parts of the book and certainly in its basic architecture, with Knight invited to assess the overall significance of the endeavor in the aforementioned conclusion and historians authoring the bulk of the chapters dedicated to colonial and early national events. Although one might take issue with the avoidance of class analysis and traditional agents of resistance like unions and political parties, the interdisciplinary and international aspects of the project, not to mention the ambitious interinstitutional collaboration sustaining it, add refreshing and innovative qualities to the final product.

The book is divided into three roughly chronological parts. The first, “Resistance and the Creation of New Worlds,” examines the period from the conquest to the nineteenth century and includes three chapters on Brazil and two on Mexico. The second, “Resisting through Religion and for Religion,” is more thematic but advances the chronological coverage into the twentieth century with two chapters on Brazil and two on

Mexico. The final part, "Rethinking Resistance in a Changing World," takes resistance analysis into the twenty-first century with four chapters on Mexico and two on Brazil. The subjects of all but one chapter (which treats middle-class Catholic women) are members of groups recognizably subordinate or subaltern, such as different Amerindian nations, enslaved Africans, and peasant groups.

Many of the individual studies deconstruct events that show how domination is tolerated by those most exploited by superordinate groups. The underlying argument is that such a condition is more usual and thus more helpful to understand—if more difficult to document—than more commonly examined events such as strikes and revolutions. Underscored are occurrences of subordinate appropriation of superordinate expressions of power, especially the adaptation of these to subaltern customs. Religious institutions in Mexico resisted state intervention partly to administer their own control mechanisms over congregants. The designation *quilombo* (Brazilian runaway slave communities) was sought to establish more autonomous local economies. In some cases, such as that of the rebel slaves presented by Brazilian-based historian Robert Slenes, resistance helped produce new public policy, such as the 1888 royal decree abolishing slavery in Brazil.

Knight is careful in his conclusion to include a wide range of possibilities for conceptualizing resistance, expressing a decided emphasis on material results. When it comes to intentionality, for example, Knight argues that the motives of a resistant group are not as important as outcomes. Equally, he downplays the resisters' ideology, favoring in its stead practice, arguing that the coherence of a group's ideas are less important than the results achieved. Most historians will probably feel comfortable with his perspective; anthropologists will perhaps feel less so, since much of their fieldwork and theoretical speculation concerns contemporary behaviors and social constructions. Readers of both disciplines will find ample support for diverse points of view in individual chapters, but it is just this awkward pairing of those who study live subjects and those who study dead ones that makes the book especially provocative and worthwhile.

CLIFFORD A. WELCH, Universidade Federal de São Paulo

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Guantánamo: An American History. By JONATHAN M. HANSEN. New York: Hill and Wang, 2011. Plates. Maps. Notes. Index. xvi, 428 pp. Cloth, \$35.00.

Focusing our attention on 250 square miles in southeastern Cuba, Jonathan Hansen's *Guantánamo: An American History* successfully argues for the outsized significance of this nearby patch of land. This is a place that is both exceptional—from its special geographic position to its unique legal status—and emblematic, particularly of the United States' relationship to the world across three-plus centuries.

Hansen's skills as an interdisciplinary scholar and storyteller are immediately apparent as he poses the compelling question of how Guantánamo's past illuminates its present use as a highly controversial prison camp. To get at this, Hansen briefly describes the geological origins of Cuba and the bay itself, which was destined both for strategic

importance and imperial contest. Christopher Columbus was one of many foreigners to follow trade winds and currents into Guantánamo Bay, impressed by its wide mouth and deep harbor when he arrived there in 1494. In 1741, it was the site of a failed invasion by 3,000 British troops, including some American colonists hoping to gain control of the Windward Passage for goods coming down the Mississippi. This expedition is evidence of an extracontinental US imperialism predating even the nation's founding: Mount Vernon itself was named after the British admiral who led it. Also telling of national character is the use of the bay by American slave ships well into the mid-nineteenth century.

Guantánamo played a central role in the United States' official entry into imperialism in the War of 1898. To cut off a Spanish telegraph cable, to open a route to Santiago de Cuba, and to establish a coaling station for its ships, the US Navy fired its first shots in Cuba there. Primary sources specific to the region around the bay illuminate the heroism of Cuban fighters, their disenfranchisement under US occupation, and their repugnance for the Platt Amendment (1901), particularly its stipulation for the US naval base at Guantánamo. Over the next 30 years, up until the annulment of the Platt Amendment in 1934, Guantánamo was the landing site for US interventions in Cuba. But the lease of the 45-square-mile base survived, serving as "an insurance policy" for US hegemony in the Caribbean and Latin America (p. 151).

It is in chapters 5, 6, and 7, which explore the base as a US-Cuban contact zone from the 1930s through the 1960s, that Hansen's account is most fine grained. He deftly details life in this American colony, home to 15,000 US sailors and their families. Predictable by now are Americans' distorted perceptions of the Cubans they encountered, as is the distortion of the local economy by US sailors' "liberty tours" to neighboring Cuban towns in order to booze and visit prostitutes (p. 149). Guantánamo's stock went up during World War II, when German subs threatened the United States' Eastern Seaboard, and the early Cold War period, in which organized Cuban labor met the wrath of US anticommunism. The base weathered Fidel Castro's revolution—the Kennedys plotted to use it as "bait" to provoke Castro (p. 230)—and survived the Cuban Missile Crisis, during which the base became a target. The complexity of US-Cuban relations is clearest in Hansen's account of the late 1950s, when the base was a site not only for the supply of US military aid to Fulgencio Batista but also for the development of American sympathies with the revolution. Here interviews enliven Hansen's narrative, starring a US Navy brat who smuggled guns off the base in the folds of a convertible top and finally joined the rebels in the adjacent Sierra Maestra.

The year 1959 marked the end of Guantánamo's golden era. But its usefulness for US foreign policy was retooled. In chapter 8, Hansen describes the base's utility during the 1990s Haitian refugee crisis, as it was a place deemed outside US constitutional jurisdiction where the Immigration and Naturalization Service could deny rights to desperate Haitians claiming asylum from the political repression the United States helped create. It was into Guantánamo's squalid refugee camps and its newly adjudicated legal status that the enemy combatants of the US War on Terror were sent beginning in 2002. As Hansen explains in chapter 9, the Bush administration hastily and inadequately forti-

fied the physical, personnel, and legal structures in place to detain enemy combatants without due process or the protections of the Geneva Conventions and to subject them to torture.

Guantánamo: An American History is at its best when Hansen maintains his focus on the bay. In some cases, Hansen lingers too long on scholarly territory exceedingly well trodden by other historians, such as the ideological justifications for America's "Empire of Liberty," debates over the annexation of Cuba, and the role of yellow journalism in 1898. The book's other weakness is its dearth of Cuban voices and its almost exclusive use of English-language sources. This is most problematic in the few instances in which Hansen's claims about Cuban attitudes exceed his reliance on contemporary Americans' limited perceptions of them. In this sense, Hansen's subtitle should be taken seriously: *Guantánamo* really is *An American History*, and a fascinating one at that.

MEGAN J. FEENEY, St. Olaf's College

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Mexico and Mexicans in the Making of the United States. Edited by JOHN TUTINO. CMAS History, Culture, and Society Series. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 320 pp. Cloth, \$55.00.

The contributors to this timely volume reject political and public discourse, which too often characterizes Mexicans as invaders or as the Other. Rather, the authors argue that, historically and culturally, Mexico and Mexicans were key participants in the construction of the United States. Moving from the Hispanic capitalism of northern New Spain to the claims of superior "Yankee patriarchy" and finally to the murky state of race and the persistence of *mestizaje* in the twenty-first century, this collection offers engaging essays that emphasize an integrative history of the two countries.

John Tutino provides a sweeping overview that links New Spain, Mexico, and the United States from the sixteenth century to the present. As Europeans, Mesoamericans, and Africans moved to northern New Spain, drawn by the promise of silver, farming, and grazing, what emerged was an ethnically complex and economically stable region. Even when the border moved south, Hispanic capitalism and Mexican migration continued north. Through wars and marriages, Anglo-Americans adopted New Spain's northern capitalism and laid the foundation for a dynamic US West. At the same time, the United States was not the only beneficiary of this capitalist system. As David Montejano demonstrates, during the US Civil War Mexican teamsters and merchants like José San Román controlled the import and export of goods like "Mexican cotton" that were vital to the functioning of the trans-Mississippi Confederacy (p. 152). Rather than take this as evidence of Mexican sympathies with slavery or the Confederacy, Montejano argues that these entrepreneurs simply took successful advantage of economic opportunities. In the post-Civil War period, Mexico's economic integration into the United States accelerated so that, as Tutino points out, "Mexicans increasingly engaged the world through

the United States" (p. 68). Ties intensified further after World War II, when population growth and urbanization in Mexico prompted more Mexicans to migrate north. In the last few decades, sectors of the US economy have become dependent on poorly paid and exploitable Mexican workers. As Tutino states, "mutual dependence has become a symbiosis" (p. 23).

Hispanic North American capitalism was adopted by Anglo-Americans who articulated a "superior Yankee patriarchy" (p. 32). Shelley Streeby examines how nineteenth-century wars, mass media, and popular literature reframed the United States' relationship with Mexico. Mexican culture and Mexican men were problematized and portrayed as failed patriarchs and as exceptionally violent. Although President James Monroe envisioned the newly independent American republics as brothers, popular novels reimagined Mexico as a woman in need of saving. In this way, the "gendered power dynamics that figured the United States as a man and Mexico as a woman worked to naturalize US dominance and Mexican subordination" (p. 117). The United States was the heroic white male while Mexico was considered incapable of republicanism because it was too racially mixed and feminine. This gendered construction of Mexico, Streeby argues, helped build a powerful self-image of white "USAmericans" (p. 127).

Katherine Benton-Cohen also examines the construction and fluidity of race by focusing on the copper-rich and racially complicated Cochise County, Arizona, from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century. Here, the defeat and removal of indigenous groups such as the Chiricahua Apaches and later the Chinese ended the camaraderie between Mexicans and Anglo-Americans. Racial categorization changed when Mexicans replaced Chinese and Indians at the bottom of labor and racial hierarchies. In this way, Mexicans were pushed further toward the margins to become "others" in a binary racialized world. At the same time, as Ramón Gutiérrez notes, rapid demographic transformations challenge binary racial understandings of white and nonwhite in the United States. In what Gutiérrez calls the "vibrant postnational spaces" (p. 264), "Mex-America" represents a place where "peoples, cultures, and ideas can move in complicated ways, defying linearity" (p. 281).

This is a solid collection of essays that makes a convincing case that the past and present of Mexico and the United States are inseparable. As Tutino argues, Mexicans and Americans "are not long separate and ultimately different peoples struggling to merge; [they] are peoples emerging from long interactions, struggling with the separating claims of nations and nationalisms" (p. 77). As is often the case with collected essays, some chapters are more engaging than others. While the arguments presented are not necessarily new, the collection thoughtfully and critically examines not only the complex themes that link Mexico and the United States but also the concrete ways that Mexico and Mexicans constructed the economy and the national and racial identity of the United States. In that way, this collection represents an excellent contribution to the ongoing public and academic debate.

MEE-AE KIM, The College of Idaho

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Hers, His, and Theirs: Community Property Law in Spain and Early Texas.

By JEAN A. STUNTZ. Foreword by CAROLINE CASTILLO CRIMM. Preface by MORRIS BAKKEN. 2nd ed. American Liberty and Justice. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2010. Maps. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xxv, 217 pp. Paper, \$24.95.

This is the first book on the Spanish origins of women's property rights in modern America. Women in Spain, Mexico, and colonial Texas have enjoyed property rights not always extended to their Anglo-American sisters. A woman in Spanish or Mexican Texas of the nineteenth century could legally own land. These Tejanas bought and sold land, inherited it, and bequeathed it to their children. What's more, they could sue and testify in court, they could adopt children, and they retained ownership of their dowry and premarital assets. A few historians have briefly acknowledged the uniquely Spanish roots of women's property rights. This book is the first published work to fully treat the issue of how Spanish men proudly established these powerful rights while Anglo-American men reluctantly conceded them to their wives under the male-dominant tradition of English common law. In her book, Jean A. Stuntz provides convincing evidence that modern American women's property rights can be traced through a long chain of documentation all the way back to ancient Spain.

Through extensive research, Stuntz provides a vivid comparison of the historical traditions of England and Spain. She demonstrates that while the Anglo-Saxons were subordinating their women in the early legal codes of England, Spanish noblemen were strengthening the status of their women as the bedrock of the Spanish family and community. Women's property rights emerged along with the earliest Spanish legal traditions. The author notes, for example, that as early as 1256, Alfonso X set out his fabled *Las Siete Partidas* to encompass the ancient Visigothic codes and the Spanish legal canon as the basis for the Spanish law. As the codes were manifested through the centuries in Castilian language, law, and philosophy, they deeply integrated the property rights of women. Stuntz says that in Spain, women came to symbolize "the most priceless possessions of the family, the community, and the realm" in the turbulent centuries of the Reconquista (p. 44). And because aristocratic Spanish knights sought privilege and glory through warfare, ranching, and horsemanship, they willingly deferred ganancial rights to their wives.

In her systematic contrast of English and Spanish legal tradition, Stuntz cites the 1765 promulgation of English common law in William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* as a milestone in women's rights. Blackstone defined the English woman's status by declaring that "the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage" (p. 101). The English wife could not own, buy, or sell land or fully inherit her husband's land. More importantly, Stuntz argues that the English transferred these codes to their American colonies even as their Spanish counterparts brought the women's rights of their Reconquista culture to their colonies in New Spain. As New Spain and the Spanish province

of Texas gained their independence, they systematically incorporated the ancient codes into their new constitutions and congressional legislation. In Texas under the Republic of Mexico, Tejanas inherited their full legal status and property rights in Béxar, Goliad, and Nacogdoches.

One of the major arguments of the book is that the Anglo-Texan policymakers of the Republic of Texas were motivated by their own financial distress to incorporate the Hispanic codes of community property, letting Texas women retain ownership of their family lands specifically in order “to protect family property from creditors” and banks that they had fled in the United States (p. 156). By combining women’s land ownership with the inalienable land ownership of the homestead, the new Texas constitution would protect their lands “by law from forced sale” by banks and creditors in the United States (p. 155), especially after Texas was annexed as a state in the American economy.

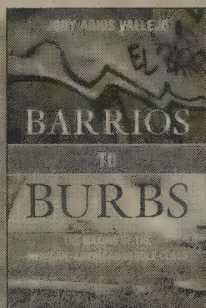
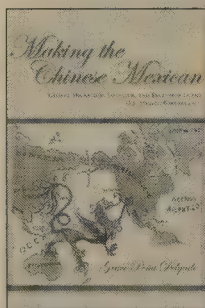
The book extensively documents women’s rights in European, colonial, and early Texan codes and case law. Its strength is in the comparison of English common law with Spanish codes. And in keeping with the promise of her preface, Stuntz provides a viable rationale for the development of women’s ganancial rights in the Republic of Texas. Community property was a gambit to the Anglo male legislators. Stuntz concludes instructively, “Equality, fairness, and freedom are the ideals that Americans hold dear, even if they are exemplified by laws that originated in Spain” (p. 173).

Beyond its simple, factual style, the book’s importance comes from its novel insights into a phase of Texas and American history. It posits simply that community property rights were another of the many cultural institutions transmitted from the early Spanish colonies and the Mexican Republic to the expanding United States of the nineteenth century. The book is an important read for Texas historians, political scientists, and the general readers who want to know how and why American women came to enjoy Spanish, Mexican, and Tejana rights.

ANDRÉS TIJERINA, Austin Community College

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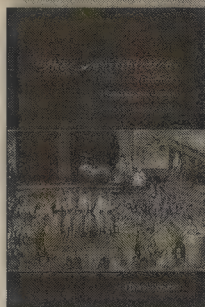


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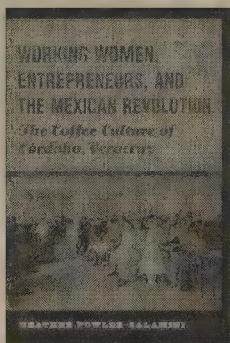
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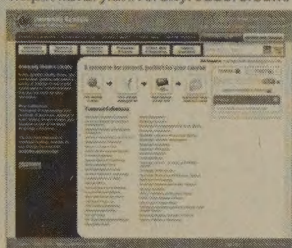
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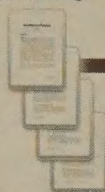
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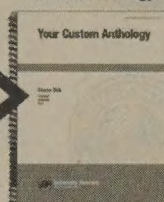
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